CALLIMACHUS

HYMN TO DELOS

Introduction and Commentary

BY

W. H. MINEUR

LEIDEN E. J. BRILL 1984

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HYMN TO DELOS

MNEMOSYNE

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W. H. MINEUR

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LUGDUNI BATAVORUM E. J. BRILL MCMLXXXIV

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Cui dono merito meum libellum
doctum — spero equidem — et laboriosum?
Uxor mi, tibi: namque tu solebas
coniugis studia excitare tarda,
ac pati viduatam, amata, vitam
per tot sabbata bella feriasque.
Et vobis, pueri, dicare fas est,
heu patris totiens manus egenis.
At si pergitis in ioco atque Musis
pulcre vivere, mi est bene ac beate.
Habebunt quoque quidquid hoc libelli
diu qui mi aderant boni parentes.
Haud paucis si placent mei labores,
nil me laetius est beatiusve.

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PREFACE

Since R. Pfeiffer in the Journal of Hellenic Studies of 1955 made an appeal to scholars encouraging them to write commentaries on Hellenistic poetry as the best help for tackling its chronological and interpretative problems, the publication of a commentary on a Callimachean hymn hardly needs justifying. One can only hope that what one eventually produces is not too far below the level of Pfeiffer's own masterpiece, modestly characterized by himself as *nihil nisi initia.*

The primary aim of a commentary is of course to explain the text. However, since in Hellenistic poetry the exact meaning thereof is time and time again hard to establish, this one is regularly required to propose several possible explanations, leaving it in the Herodotean manner to the reader to choose ὁκοτέρῃ τις βούλεται αὐτέων. The many parallels quoted from Homer, Hesiod, Tragedy and other literature also make a demand on the user's own activity, inviting him to discern tradition and originality in the poet's use of vocabulary and style. References to secondary literature serve the double purpose of facilitating control as well as stimulating further investigation. That the casual reader because of this will experience some difficulty in selecting the answers to this immediate needs, I realize only too well; yet I hope that he will be helped by the surveys and occasional translations.

The text of this book is identical with that of my doctoral thesis presented at the University of Leyden in 1984. The tradition of this venerable Institute forbids the author of a thesis to eulogize members of the Staff, but here may I at least record the names of Profs. C.M.J. Sicking, P.H. Schrijvers and H.S. Versnel, who by their criticism, knowledge and encouragement influenced almost every page of this book.

I am also indebted to Prof. W.J. Verdenius, who not only kindly accepted this study for publication in the series of the Supplements to Mnemosyne, but also made some useful remarks and references, enabling me to correct several points of the Commentary.

I remember with gratitude the stimulating contact I had in the initial period of my research on Callimachus with Dr. K.J. Mc Kay.

Further I owe a great debt of gratitude to Drs. C.J.E.J. Hattink, who sacrificed so much of his time making a first correction of my English while adding valuable suggestions for improving subject-matter, and to Mrs. Elenid Jones of Cambridge, who took care of the final revision of the English text with great thoroughness.

For all the remaining deficiencies of this work fragment 1141 of the *Supplementum Hellenisticum* applies.

ABBREVIATIONS

One should not confuse Callimachus' Hymn to Apollo, which is referred to as (Call.) *H.* 2, with the Homeric one, cited *h.Ap.*

An asterisk after the parallel indicates that the words concerned are found in the same metrical position, e.g. in 1.64 θοῦρος Ἄρης: cf. *Il.* 5, 507*.

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PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

> Bons Dieux! quelle douceur, quelle intime plaisir sent-on autour du cœur, quand on list sa Délos!
>
> P. De Ronsard

CHAPTER ONE

THE STRUCTURE OF THE HYMN

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1.1 *Synopsis*

I 1-27 *Proem*

1-10 Announcement of the hymn's subject, and motivation for its choice: primacy of Delos among the Cyclades, and Apollo's wish to have his birthplace sung in hymns.
11-27 Short characterisation of Delos: an unattractive piece of land, yet high in rank among the islands because of Apollo's patronage.

II 28-324 *Descriptive main part: origin of Delos, of the Apollo-cult, and of some of the island's rituals.*

- 28- 54 Origin of Delos: she is not a piece of rock, hurled into the sea by some mighty god, but really a nymph, Asteria, who jumped from heaven into the sea to escape from Zeus' embrace, and had floated around the Mediterranean ever since, until Apollo was born on her soil.
- 55-274 Origin of the Apollo-cult: how the god came to be born on Delos.
  - 55- 69 Wrath of Hera. Her measures to prevent Leto from giving birth. Ares and Iris appointed to keep watch on earth.
  - 70-196 Wanderings of Leto: flight of all countries, rivers, cities, mountains and islands at her arrival.
    - 70- 74 Flight of the Peloponnese (Arcadia, Corinth).
    - 75- 99 Flight of Boeotia, with an excursus on the Hamadryad-problem, and Apollo's first prophecy from Leto's womb on Thebes' future.
    - 100-102 Flight of the Peloponnese (Achaea).
    - 103-152 Flight of Thessaly. Leto appeals to Peneius, who after some hesitation puts himself at her disposal in the face of Ares' threats. Leto declines his offer.
    - 153-196 Flight of the islands. Apollo in a long speech warns Leto not to bring him to Cos, since another god, Ptolemy, is to be born there, a mighty king, who, like Apollo at Delphi, will have trouble with hostile Gauls, but in the end will be victorious. Delos appointed as Apollo's birthplace.

197-214 Preparations for Apollo's birth.
197-205 Asteria puts herself at Leto's disposal.
205-214 Leto settles on Delos, begging Apollo to be born.
215-248 Wrath of Hera.
215-239 Iris reports the bad news, and after that sits down at Hera's feet like a dog.
239-248 Hera is furious, but refrains from further action out of reverence for Asteria, who once had rejected Zeus.
249-274 Birth of Apollo; Asteria's reaction.
249-258 Apollo jumps forward from his mother's womb, welcomed by swans and Delian nymphs.
259-274 Asteria exultantly presents herself to the world.
275-324 Origin and nature of several other Delian cults and rites.
275-277 Taboo on death.
278-299 Origin and nature of the Hyperborean offerings sent to the island yearly, and of the hair-offerings of Delian youth.
300-301 *Aition* of the name of the Cyclades.
302-306 Daily festivities on Delos.
307-315 Origin of the cult of Aphrodite, and of the *Geranos*.
316-324 Origin and nature of the dancing-and-biting ritual of the mariners.

III 325-326 *Salute to Delos, Apollo, and Leto.*

1.2 Some Remarks on the Synopsis

1.2.1 Of the two kinds of Greek literary hymns, dactylic and melic, Callimachus' hymns belong to the first, like the Homeric hymns, in the company of which they have come down to us. In a formal analysis, a comparison with the Homeric hymns imposes itself, especially since one of these, the Hymn to Apollo, has proved to be a constant source of inspiration for *Delos.*[1]

1.2.2 Now in the minor Homeric hymns the following elements can be distinguished:[2]

(a) Announcement of singing in the first person singular, e.g. ἀείδω, μνήσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι.

(b) Name of the deity involved, generally in the accusative.

(c) Cult-epithets, revealing the god's function(s), e.g. ἐλαφηβόλον, ἐρίβρομον, ἐρυσίπτολιν.

(d) Relative clause(s), often referring to the deity's birth, e.g. ἣν τέκε 'Ρείη, ὃν ... γείνατ' ... 'Αλκμήνη.

(e) Salute: χαῖρε, χαίρετε.

In the major Homeric hymns, elements (c) and (d) are extended to a long narrative section, often containing the tale of the god's birth and the

[1] See A. Frolíková, "Homérsky hymnus na Apollóna a Kallimachův hymnus na Délos", *Listy filol.* 89 (1966), 252-6; Reinsch-Werner, *Call. hes.*, 292, 322.

[2] Koller, *art. cit.*, 175f.; Lenz, *o.c.*, *l.c.*; Meyer, *o.c.*, 5; Norden, *Agn. Theos*, 148; H.S. Versnel, "A Parody on Hymns in Martial V 24", *Mnem.* s. IV, 27 (1974), 368ff.

explanation for the origin of his cult. Further regular topics in this section are the conflict of the new-born god with other deities, for example Apollo versus Typhaon, Hermes versus Apollo, and the epiphany, the glorious manifestation of the god to mankind (such as that of Demeter at Eleusis, and of Dionysus in the ship) or his first entrance in the abode of the gods, such as we find at the beginning of the Hymn to Apollo.[3] Between the mythical section and the conclusion, a certain number of lines may be devoted to bringing the Myth up to the present time, as is done with the description of the *Apollonia* on Delos in *h.Ap.* 146 ff.[4]

1.2.3 In *Delos*, all these elements are present as well, though often in a slightly altered form, as can be expected in a Hellenistic poem.

(a) The announcement of singing is found in l. 1, the expression used being quite untraditional: 'When, oh my soul, will you start a song ...?'.

(b) The goddess's name is in the accusative, but the postponement to the second line again is untraditional.[5]

(c) The description of the origin of the cult of Apollo and some other deities is given in 55-324.

(d) The 'birth' of Asteria/Delos is told in 30-54.

The conflict, of course, is that between Asteria and Leto on the one hand and Hera on the other, while the epiphany is found in 260 ff., where Asteria, in a shining manifestation, proudly presents herself to the world. Lines 275-324, in the present tense, constitute the 'Prolongation'.

(e) The traditional χαῖρε is found in l. 325, followed by an untraditional χαίροι in the optative.

From a formal point of view, *Delos* thus appears to be quite in accordance with the tradition of the Homeric *prooimion*.[6]

1.2.4 It is this formal likeness that induces me to deviate in one important detail from the traditional divisions of *Delos*. Wilamowitz, for example, divides the poem into three parts: (i) 1-27 Introduction; (ii) 28-274 "was man erwartet": γοναὶ Δήλου and γοναὶ 'Απόλλωνος; (iii) 275-326 "Angaben über einige delische Kulte, die freilich etwas nachhangen ...".[7] Cf. also Howald-Staiger, 99: "Auch hier ist es dem Dichter noch nicht daran gelegen, oder er hat noch nicht den Weg dazu gefunden, die epischen und die rituellen Partien zu einer Einheit zu verschmelzen."

This, I think, is an erroneous view, since formally the γοναὶ 'Απόλλωνος

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[3] 2 ff., cf. 186 ff., *h.Hom.* 12, 4., Hes. *Th.* 36 ff.; Janko, *art. cit.*, 11.

[4] Labelled 'Prolongation' by Janko, *art. cit.*, 14 f.

[5] See below, ch. 2.1.4.

[6] The fact that a speech by Asteria ends the Mythical Section is in conformity with the tendency to end the Myth with the words of the deity, too: see Janko, *art. cit.*, 14.

[7] *HD* II, 63.

are not on a par with the γοναὶ Δήλου, but belong to the same category as the so-called ritual section, lines 276ff. We should not forget that this is a hymn to *Delos*, and that in such a hymn, according to tradition, we may expect a tale of her birth and an explanation of the cult related to her. It is obvious, then, that the tale of Apollo's birth can only belong to the cult-part, and rightly so, since it ultimately brings the explanation why Delos is Apollo's island: ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἐμεῖο / Δήλιος 'Απόλλων κεκλήσεται (268-69). Likewise, in 276-324 the origin of several other Delian cult-practices is explained on a mythical basis (Theseus, Hyperboreans).

1.2.5 In the *Synopsis*, therefore, I bracketed the Birth-of-Apollo part (55-274) and the ritual part (275-324) together, since substantially they are on the same level.[8] In quantity, certainly, they differ enormously, because Callimachus wanted to elaborate the Birth-of-Apollo episode by way of the traditional themes of conflict, wanderings, and prophecy to construct an elegant and light envelopment for the eulogy of his patron. It goes without saying that this disproportion was intentional: another fine example of Hellenistic variation technique to reach new effects within a traditional scheme.

1.2.6 In a formal analysis, however, we should not be led astray by the unequal division of length of the different parts, nor by the scheme of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, in which the god's birth does *not* belong to the ritual part, of course. Yet Callimachus will have been well aware of the confusion brought about by the disproportion: in fact, he built in some devices to make it easier for the reader to retain the thread of the story, as the following may show.

1.3 *Unifying elements*

1.3.1 In the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, the hymnal "Du-Stil der Prädikation"[9] curiously alternates with the "Er-Stil", even within a short space.[10] In *Delos*, the Introduction presents the third-person style; but once at l. 27 with Δῆλε φίλη the poet turns to the "Du-Stil", he continues to do so until the very end of the poem. In fact, this continuous apostrophe is the framework of the story,[11] as becomes evident when all lines containing an

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[8] Cf. McKay, *Erys.*, 189: "The distinction between these two components is artificial. It is the same poet who preaches the same message through both".

[9] Norden, *o.c.*, 143ff.

[10] Cf. e.g. 127f., 130, 140 and 179. Griffiths, *art. cit.* (ch. 2.2), 99 erroneously speaks of "the epic distance of the third-person narrative of the Homeric hymns". Theocritus' sudden use of the "Du-Stil" in the *Ptolemy* might as well be an imitation of the Homeric hymn to Apollo instead of an allusion to *Delos*.

[11] See already O. Crusius, "Über die Nomosfrage", *Verh. 39. Vers. Deutsch. Phil. Zür.* (Leipzig 1888), 263.

address to Delos are written after one another: (28-29) Delos, what story shall I tell about you? The one about your origin? (35-54) Unlike the other islands, you were loose and independent, really a nymph, roaming the Mediterranean until Apollo was born on your territory. (55) For you were not afraid of Hera, like almost all other nymphs and river-gods; (197-205) but when you saw Leto in distress, you immediately offered yourself to her, so that she could give birth to her child on your soil. (260-274) Then you were covered all over with gold, and proudly proclaimed yourself the island of Apollo. (275-284) For this reason your soil must not be desecrated by death, and you receive offerings from all over the world; (300-315) therefore your island is always full of festivities, (316-324) and mariners always anchor in your harbour to perform a merry ritual. (325-326) Farewell!

Such is the story, intentionally bound together by the apostrophe, contrary to what Call. had found in the Homeric Hymn. It is this device that Cahen already rightly designated as proof that both σὸν βωμόν in l. 312 and σέο βωμόν in 321 must refer to the altar of Delos, and therefore must be identical with the Κερατών.[12]

1.3.2 Sometimes, however, the digression assumes such proportions that something extra is needed to put the reader back on the track again. This is found, for example, at l. 197: After the extensive tale of Leto's wanderings including the Peneius-episode and Apollo's long prophecy, the reader is subtly reminded by the epithet φιλόμολπε that it really is a hymn to Asteria/Delos he has before him, the reference being to l. 4 f. Δῆλος δ' ἐθέλει τὰ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι / ἐκ Μουσέων and l. 29 τί τοι θυμῆρες ἀκοῦσαι;

1.3.3 Such 'echoes' are applied in another way too, viz. to encompass an episode. Wilamowitz has already pointed out the fact that the tale of Apollo's birth is both introduced and concluded by the words Ἀπόλλωνος κουροτρόφος (l. 2 and 276).[13] Likewise at the end of the Iris-episode we hear the goddess called Θαύμαντος ... κούρη (l. 232), in the same way as she was introduced to us—somewhat puzzingly—as κόρη Θαύμαντος in l. 67.[14] The parallel between οὐδ' Ἥρην κοτέουσαν ὑπέτρεσας in l. 55 and οὐδ' Ἥρη νεμέσησε in 259, marking the beginning and end of Hera's action, may be less striking; but seeing in l. 274 the words ὁ δὲ γλυκὺν ἔσπασε μαζόν, the ancient reader will have had no difficulty in remembering that in the poem

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[12] *REG* 36 (1923), 14 ff., and below, the Commentary *ad loc.*

[13] *HD* II, 63. — In older Greek literature, the ring-composition was generally used in smaller digressions, cf. e.g. *Il.* 6, 129 ~ 141; 11, 219 ~ 231; Hes. *Th.* 37 ~ 51, 426 f. ~ 448 f., Thgn. 703 ~ 711 f., A. *Ch.* 750 ~ 762, *Su.* 407 ~ 417; for longer ones cf. Hes. *Th.* 714 ~ 817, Pi. *P.* 4, 2 f. ~ 65 ff. and 5 ff. ~ 59 ff. (two concentric rings). See W. A. A. van Otterlo, *Untersuchungen über Begriff, Anwendung und Entstehung der griechischen Ringkomposition* (Amsterdam 1944), 3 ff.; H. Fränkel, *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums* (München 1962), 270 n. 37, 509, 522.

[14] See below, the Commentary *ad loc.*

Delos was introduced to him as Apollo's τιθήνη. Further examples can be found in 163+195 (τῇ με τέκοις and τῇ με φέροις, at the beginning and the end of Apollo's speech), and in 278+299 (the episode on first-fruits), while 1.196 can be seen as a resumé of 153-4 and 158-9.

1.3.4 The story of the poem takes then a linear course, the repeated anastrophe and the verbal echoes serving as a guide to the reader. The poem's great length is mainly due to digressions of various kinds, the most productive system being the description of persons acting in a way contrary to that of Asteria: cf. 68-196 ('All the *other* nymphs and rivergods fled') and, on a smaller scale, 30-35 ('The *other* islands were created in this way'). In fact, this device is an extension of the 'negative mode of expression' which E. Diehl already indicated as being one of Callimachus' typical features.[15]

1.3.5 In the past, *Delos* has been analyzed in several other ways. Since Call. had the established reputation of being a *poeta doctus*, some scholars supposed that his 'artificial' poems should also have an artificial framework. Thus Beltrami and others, without much success, tried to apply the system of Terpander's citharodic nomos to it,[16] while Hurst is convinced that the poem has a concentric construction.[17] To demonstrate this, the latter has to wriggle his way through the poem, comparing the content of an extensive period at the hymn's beginning to that of one or two lines somewhere at the end, picking out words or scenes at random while leaving out others that are at least equally important, and even reading things into the text that simply are not there.[18] Such an approach stands self-condemned.

Cahen, being somewhat prepossessed by the supposedly lyrical character of the hymn, draws a comparison with the framework of the Pindaric Epinician, which also has a central myth encompassed by a eulogy of a hero.[19] Already from a methodological point of view this approach is wrong: neither in form (metre, vocabulary) nor in content does *Delos* bear any likeness to an

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[15] "Quaestiones Callimacheae tres", *Acta Univ. Latv.* 14 (1926), 4ff. See e.g. lines 271-3 and 302-3, the Homeric example being the celebrated 'Leporello Catalogue' in *Il.* 14, 317ff. The device is closely allied to the Priamel: see A.-J. Festugière, "Les trois vies", *Acta congr. Madv.* II (Copenhagen 1958), 131ff.; E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957), 230f.

[16] A. Beltrami, *Gli inni di Callimaco e il Nomo di Terpandro* (Firenze 1896), with the objections of C. Steinweg, "Kallimachos und die Nomosfrage", *NJPh* 155 (1897), 270ff.; Cahen, *Call.*, 589.

[17] See Hurst, *o.c.*, Scheme 36. It is true of course that the hymn is built as it were around the eulogy to Philadelphus at the very heart of the poem (see McKay, *Erys.*, 155), but that does not imply that the framework of the whole should be concentric.

[18] Lines 316ff., for example, are supposed to mean "le matelot est *appelé par les étappes* de son voyage" (p. 169; my italics). That certainly cannot be found in the text of *Delos*, but the author needs those stages to compare them to *all* the islands that want to be praised (1.3f.). The "Jalousie de Létô", mentioned in Scheme 36, is likewise mere fabrication.

[19] *Comm.*, 153.

epinikion. Moreover, the Pindaric myth is never directly concerned with the poem's hero, whereas Callimachus' hymn tells the story of Delos from the beginning to the end. As was shown above, the comparison with the Homeric hymns is both the most obvious and the most satisfactory.

CHAPTER TWO

PURPOSE AND DATE OF THE HYMN

2.1 *Why did Callimachus write the Hymn to Delos?*

2.1.1 The days are definitely gone, it seems, when Callimachus' hymns were regarded as official pieces of poetry, intended to add lustre to some Delian festival or to compete in some poetical *agon* on the island.[1] The esoteric learning and the allusive art of these poems overtly suggest that the audience for this kind of poetry must be sought primarily in the intimate circle of scholars, *literati* and royalty within or connected to the Alexandrian Museum.[2]

It is hard to believe, however, that the elaborate Hymn to Delos, the only one of the collection of six containing open praise of the Ruler, could simply have sprung from the poet's mind one fine day, and that it should be a purely literary affair, mainly inspired by the Homeric Hymn to Apollo.[3] However it seems to me possible, and certainly attractive, to connect the poem to some festive occasion, but one, in that case, celebrated within the Museum-community.

Our knowledge of the organisation of the Alexandrian Museum is curiously defective,[4] but since we know that it was modelled on that of the Academy and the Lyceum—Demetrius of Phaleron being an immediate source of information for Soter on the subject—we may safely suppose that many of the customs of the Alexandrian Museum resembled those of its predecessors.

One of the customs that is of interest here, was that at the *syssitia* of the Academy and the Peripatos hymns were sung regularly, the subjects of which were not only gods, but also heroes, and among these the founders of the Schools, who were honoured specially on the occasion of their birthday.[5] As to the Alexandrian Museum, a passage in Vitruvius indicates that at least

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[1] Christ-Schmid, *Gesch. griech. Lit.* II, 1 (München 1920), 136; Legrand, *REA* 3 (1901), 311; Cahen, *Call.*, 366ff.; Tarn-Griffith, *Hellen. Civ.* (London 1952), 16f.; R. Cantarella, *La letteratura greca dell'età ellenistica* (Firenze-Milano 1968), 41; Bruneau, *Recherches*, 532f.; C. Meillier, *Callimaque et son temps*. Thèse Paris (Lille 1979), 180, 188; Fraser, *PA* I, 657.

[2] Herter, *RE* Suppl. V, 434; Howald, *Kall.*, 11f.; Lesky, *Gesch. griech. Lit.* (Bern-München 1963), 750f.; Pfeiffer, *HCS*, 97f.; Williams, *Apollo*, 2.

[3] Bethe, *SbLeipz.* 83 (1931), II, 15; Wilamowitz, *HD* II, 63; Fraser, *PA* II, 923; F.T. Griffiths, *Theocritus at Court*. Suppl. Mnem. 55 (Leiden 1979), 106.

[4] Müller-Graupa, *RE* XVI, 808ff.; Pfeiffer, *HCS*, 96ff.; Fraser, *PA* I, 312ff.

[5] P. Boyancé, *Le culte des Muses chez les philosophes grecs*. Bibl.éc.fr.Ath.Rom. 141 (Paris 1936), 307, referring to Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* VIII, 1, 717b, and *anon. Vit. Plat.* 9 Westermann; cf. also Diog. Laert. 10, 18 (on Epicurus).

a festival of Muses was celebrated there.[6] We may take it for granted that on the birthday of Philadelphus, co-founder and 'hero' of the Museum, a banquet was held there in his honour,[7] and that festive hymns were composed to celebrate the occasion.[8].

To think of the Hymn to Delos as a kind of *genethliakon* for Philadelphus recited in the Museum at such a banquet seems to me a highly attractive idea.

2.1.2 Hardly anything is known about the *genethliakon* as a genre in Hellenistic times,[9] but it is remarkable to see that some of the elements prescribed for birthday orations by rhetoricians of the first centuries A.D.[10] are already found in Callimachus' poem. One of those elements is that the orator should draw a parallel between the hero of the feast and the god that was born on the same day. Now we do not know whether Philadelphus was born on the seventh, as was Apollo, according to tradition,[11] but the parallel between the two is unmistakably one of the most essential features of the hymn. The traditional eulogy on the deeds of the one celebrating his birthday is not lacking either (166 ff.), nor is the element of prophecy, presented here in the playful form of a *vaticinium post eventum*.

2.1.3 Be that as it may, the stress laid on the birth theme in *Delos* can hardly escape notice. The tale of the deity's birth admittedly is a stock element in hymnal poetry,[12] but in *Delos* the poet gives far more than his due in this respect: for apart from describing Delos' own origin (37 f.), he moreover deals circumstantially with the birth of Apollo, and expressly refers to Philadelphus' birth on Cos (160 ff.).[13] It may further be noted that the word γενέθλιος has a double occurrence in the hymn (51, 262), a significant fact if one realizes that γενέθλια is a stock term in papyri to denote a god's or a king's birthday.[14]

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6 P. Fraser, *Eranos* 68 (1970), 119, citing Vitruv. VII, *praef.* 4 ff.

7 Banquets were held throughout Egypt on this day. See Cl. Préaux, *Les Grecs en Égypte d'après les archives de Zénon* (Bruxelles 1947), 71 f.

8 For Theocritus' *Herakliskos* being possibly recited on the occasion of Philadelphus' *Genethlia* and *Basileia* see L. Koenen, *Eine agonistische Inschrift aus Ägypten und frühptolemäische Königsfeste*. Beitr. klass. Phil. 56 (Meisenheim-am-Glan 1977), 79 ff.

9 A certain instance of a birthday poem in Call. is *Iamb* 12, according to the *Diegesis* (IX 25-28) written for Leon for the seventh day celebration of his daughter. See e.g. D. L. Clayman, *Callimachus' Iambi*. Suppl. Mnem. 59 (Leiden 1980), 41.

10 T. C. Burgess, *Epideictic Literature*. Stud. Class. Phil. 3 (Chicago 1902), 142 ff.; E. Cesareo, *Il carme natalizio nella poesia latina* (Palermo 1929), 30 ff.; cf. Herter, *BJ* 255 (1937), 78.

11 Hes. *Op.* 771 f., with West's note.

12 See above, ch. 1.2.

13 The birth is a standard topos in the so-called *basilikos logos* as well, but—unlike Theocritus' 17th Idyll—*Delos* does not at all follow further the pattern of this sub-type of *encomium*, for which see F. Cairns, *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry* (Edinburgh 1972), 104 ff.

14 Koenen, *o.c.* (8 n.), 49 note 100.

2.1.4 Moreover the curious *hyperbaton* of the first lines of *Delos* can be attractively explained, if we assume the occasion of the first recitation to have been a birthday festivity. For there is a traditional rule, followed in nearly all hymnal hexameter poetry, that the first line of a hymn should contain the name of the deity addressed.[15] Callimachus' first line, however, only has Τὴν ἱερήν, the noun or name to follow being postponed to the second line, evidently in order to achieve an ἀπροσδοκητόν effect.[16] Now the noun to be expected by the Alexandrian audience at the occasion of a birthday may well have been ἡμέραν, since in those days ἡμέρα ἱερή was another stock expression to denote the king's birthday.[17] Callimachus, however, chose a less direct way to praise his patron, by writing a hymn to Delos and Apollo instead of one on Philadelphus and his birthplace Cos,[18] and the name of Delos at the beginning of line 2 really may have come as a complete surprise to the audience.

2.1.5 Other sections of the hymn also fit the birthday hypothesis in a satisfying way. The hymn's last fifty lines (275 ff.), an appendix the meaning of which has embarrassed several commentators,[19] need not be too much of a surprise, since a description of festivities on a festive occasion is not at all out of place.[20] Lines 278 ff., describing 'yearly gifts' sent from all parts of the world to Delos, in particular may be seen as a direct reference to the events of the day, since on the occasion of Ptolemy's birthday it was customary for gifts to be sent from all parts of the Empire to the Alexandrian Court.[21]

2.1.6 The celebration of Philadelphus' birthday coincided or nearly coincided with that of the anniversary of his accession to the throne.[22] Though

[15] Meyer, *Hymn. Stilel.*, 21: "Die Einleitungsformel mit der in sie eingebettete Namensnennung der Gottheit darf demnach als verbindlich für den Homerischen Hymnus gelten." The rule is rather faithfully followed by later poets as well (Theognis, Alcaeus, Pindar, etc.): see Meyer, *o.c.*, 41 ff.; W. Kranz, "Sphragis", *RhM* 104 (1961), 3 ff., 97 ff.; and the Comm. below, 1 n.

[16] Cf. Bornmann, *Dian.*, 36: "la menzione del nome ritardata aumenta la sorpresa per l'ἀπροσδόκητον."

[17] Chr. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte*. Zetemata 14 (München ²1970), 152 (60 n.) and 156, referring to *OGIS* 90, 47, etc.

[18] Just as Theocritus did in *Id.* 17; cf. McKay, *Erys.*, 143 f.

[19] Cf. Wilamowitz, *HD* II, 63: "und es schliessen sich noch Angaben über einige Delische Kulte an, die freilich etwas nachhangen, aber lange nicht so störend (*sic*) wie im Artemishymnus." Cf. also Körte-Händel, *Die hellenistische Dichtung* (Stuttgart 1960), in which, after an elaborate analysis of *Delos* 1-274, the poem's last fifty lines are dealt with in only three prose-lines, characterizing the whole section as an eulogy on the island's "hohes Dasein".

[20] Cf. the description of the Apollo festival on Delos in *h.Ap.* 146 ff. For such a 'Prolongation' at the end of the mythical section in the Homeric hymns see above, ch. 1.2.2 f.

[21] Cl. Préaux, *o.c.* (7 n.), *l.c.*; *L'économie royale des Lagides* (Bruxelles 1939), 394; D. Burr Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai* (Oxford 1973), 17.

[22] J. Bingen, *Cd'E* 35-36 (1943), 138 ff.; A. E. Samuel, "Ptolemaic Chronology", *Münch. Beitr. Pap. forsch.* 43 (1962), 68 f.; Fraser, *PA* I, 232. Recent investigation of an Egyptian

we do not know whether on this day the Egyptian coronation ritual was repeated, as it was done from time to time in the so-called *heb sed* festival,[23] references to these rites in *Delos* certainly would have been understood by the king and the Alexandrian audience.[24] The following parallels between Egyptian coronation rites and elements in *Delos* are of interest:

(i) The equation of Ptolemy and Apollo resembles the identification of the new Pharaoh with Horus.[25]

(ii) The problematic expression ἀμφοτέρῃ μεσόγεια, denoting part of the territory over which Ptolemy rules (167 f.), can be satisfactorily explained as a reference to the pharaoh's title 'King of South and North' bestowed on him during the ceremony.[26]

(iii) Since the enthronization of the Egyptian king was looked upon as a victory over mythical and historical enemies, the description of the annihilation of the Gaulish mercenaries could have been intended by the poet as the Greek counterpart to the struggle between Horus and Seth.[27]

(iv) During the Egyptian coronation ceremony, arrows were shot and birds let loose in the direction of all four quarters:[28] in *Delos* the four quarters are mentioned in lines 280 f., while birds play a singular part as enchanters during Apollo's birth (249 ff.).

(v) The rite of the suckling of the Egyptian king[29] may have inspired Callimachus to the surprising idea of Apollo being wet-nursed by Asteria.

(vi) Specific dances form part of both Egyptian coronation ritual and the Delian festivities as described in Callimachus' hymn.

2.1.7 All this does not *prove*, of course, that *Delos* is a *genethliakon* for

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agonistic inscription by Koenen (*o.c.*, 8 n.) has shown that the *Genethlia* of Philadelphus were held, alongside with the *Basileia* (probably the anniversary of Alexander the Great's coronation day), on Dystros 12th, while the Egyptians celebrated Coronation Day on Dystros 25th.

[23] Fraser, *PA* II, 382 (343 n.); H. W. Fairman, in: S. H. Hooke (ed.), *Myth, Ritual and Kingship* (Oxford 1958), 83; C. J. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*. Suppl. Numen 13 (Leiden 1967), 96 ff.

[24] The thesis of S. Morenz ("Die Begegnung Europas mit Ägypten", *SbLeipz*. 113, 5 (1968), 107 f.) that the "Königshymnik" of Call. and Theocritus differs fundamentally from hymnal poetry found on Egyptian sanctuaries dating from the same period may no doubt be right from a phraseological point of view, but does not of course exclude the possibility that Call. could have referred to Egyptian ritual elements in his poetry. See further F. Wasserman, "Aegyptisches bei Kallimachos", *PhW* 45 (1925), 1277.

[25] J. Gwyn Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth* (Liverpool 1960), 15.

[26] See below, the Comm. *ad loc.*

[27] L. Koenen, "ΘΕΟΙΣΙΝ ΕΧΘΡΟΣ", *Cd'E* 34 (1959), 111 f.; Griffith, *o.c.* (3 n.), 61 note 26. For Typhon compared to Seth in Pherecydes of Syros and in Aeschylus (*Su.* 559) see W. Kranz, *H* 69 (1934), 114. For Greek statue groups representing Philadelphus and later Ptolemies as Horus overcoming Seth in single combat see the literature cited by Koenen, *o.c.* (8 n.), 83 note 176.

[28] A. Moret, *Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique* (Paris 1902), 235 ff.

[29] Moret, *o.c.*, 63 f. In the sanctuary of Isis at Philae there is even a relief representing Philadelphus being suckled by a Hathor.

Philadelphus; but we can put the case that if we suppose it to be such a poem, several otherwise less comprehensible elements start making sense.

2.1.8 The hymn further offers some data of another kind from which conclusions can be drawn about Callimachus' condition at the time of composition.

In the proem the poet states that his motive for choosing Delos as a subject is that the island ἐθέλει τὰ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι ἐκ Μουσέων. According to Pfeiffer,[30] ἄεθλα should be supplied with τὰ πρῶτα, evidently as in the Homeric phrase τὰ πρῶτα φερέσθω Τυδέος υἱός.[31] This would make sense only, I think, if the expression τὰ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι could here be taken figuratively, viz. 'take pride of place', cf. Luc. *Ver. Narr.* 2. 18 οἱ μέντοι ἀμφ' Ἀρίστιππόν τε καὶ Ἐπίκουρον τὰ πρῶτα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔφερον, and also Hdt. I. 31, where δευτερεῖα οἴσεσθαι = 'take second place'. Such a figurative interpretation is excluded here, however, by the addition of ἐκ Μουσέων in the next line, which with φέρεσθαι can only mean 'carry away from the hands of the Muses'. Now it is evidently impossible to think here of some poetical contest held under the supervision of the Muses, in which Delos carries off the first prize.

The content of the foregoing line ('True, all Cyclades are well worth a hymn') naturally suggests that τὰ πρῶτα refers to a *song*. Therefore the interpretation of Cahen and Howald-Staiger, who appear to understand δῶρα with τὰ πρῶτα, no doubt hits the mark.[32] The audience of the day, being acquainted with the circumstances, will not have gone wrong on this point.

Now in a carefully constructed poem like this it can hardly be accidental that the expression τὰ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι recurs with some variation twice in the Hymn's last section: cf. 283 f. οἱ μέν τοι καλάμην τε καὶ ἱερὰ δράγματα πρῶτοι / ἀσταχύων φορέουσιν, and 298 f. παῖδες δὲ θέρος τὸ πρῶτον ἰούλων | ... ἀπαρχόμενοι φορέουσιν (cf. also 291 πρῶται ... ἔνεικαν). Both times, with the Hyperborean-offerings as well as with the hair-offerings of the Delian youths, the reference is to *primitiae*. That Callimachus selected this particular theme out of the many possibilities to evoke Delian cult-practice may have had a very special meaning. *Delos* is generally supposed to belong to the first period of the poet's literary career. Now if we suppose the idea of 'first fruit offering' to be present also in the expression τὰ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι of the proem,[33] then *Delos* could be specified as the poet's πρωτοφόρημα, his 'maiden-poem' so to say, composed when Callimachus had become a new

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30 *Index vocab. s.v.* πρότερος, p. 195.

31 *Il.* 23, 538, cf. 275, 441, S. *OC* 1313, *A.P.* 6, 118 (Antipater).

32 "mais Délos réclame la primauté de tels présents des Muses" (Cahen), "doch als erste begehrt die Gabe der Musen Delos" (Howald-Staiger).

33 Cf. Fernandez-Galiano III, 435: "Delos quiere llevarse las primicias por parte de las Musas."

member of the Museum-community in order to thank his patron Philadelphus for his admission.

2.1.9 Seen in this light, even the peculiar seafarer's rite described at the Hymn's end makes more sense. This dancing-and-biting ritual is certainly not a 'Zeremonie des Abschieds', performed by the pilgrims at the end of their visit to the island, as Wilamowitz thinks,[34] but, as appears from the element of flagellation, some sort of *rite de passage*,[35] and so comes into the same category as the hair-offerings of the Delian youths mentioned above. The description of initiation ceremonies then seems quite appropriate in a hymn written by a poet who had only just been admitted to the Museum-community.[36] It is more than likely that newcomers to that community of intellectuals had to pass some sort of initiation ceremony, no doubt of a jocular kind: *non est enim seiunctus iocus a* φιλολογίᾳ *et cotidiana* συζητήσει, to quote Cicero.[37] The fact that such ceremonies tend to be amusing to the spectators in the first place gives an excellent explanation for the peculiar *aition* of line 324, by which the seafarers' rite is explained as an invention of some Delian nymph to amuse young Apollo: Philadelphus himself may have been present at the ceremony and may have looked on with amusement at the treatment of the freshmen to be initiated.

2.1.10 The coming-about of Callimachus' Fourth Hymn, then, I take to have been as follows: Callimachus had been appointed a member of the Museum by the king. The official admission ceremony took place at a festive banquet, held on the anniversary of the king's birthday and accession to the throne, on which occasion the poet delivered an impressive composition to thank his patron. He draw his inspiration from the Homeric Hymn to Apollo as well as from the events of the day, viz. Philadelphus' birthday, and his own admission to the Museum. Read like this, *Delos* loses much of its enigmatic character, which does not imply, of course, that it has no further surprises in store for the reader: it is largely thanks to the element of surprise that this kind of poetry exists.

2.1.11 As a final illustration, one more passage may be called to attention. The celebration suggested above would have taken place in the Great Hall, where the statues of the Muses no doubt had their place.[38] Is it to be

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[34] *HD* II, 76.

[35] A. van Gennep, *Les rites de passage* (Paris 1909), 248 f.; and see the Comm. *ad loc.*

[36] It is of special interest that sailing was a common metaphor for writing poetry, cf. Pi. *P.* 10, 51; 11, 40, and other instances cited by Cairns, *o.c.* (12 n.), 225 note 29.

[37] Cic. *fam.* 16, 21, 5; cf. Müller-Graupa, *RE* XVI, 810.

[38] On statues of the Muses erected in Alexandria see L. Cerfaux - J. Tondriau, *Le culte des souverains dans la civilisation gréco-romaine* (Paris-Tournai 1957), 217 f. In the Mouseion of Thespiae: see Pfeiffer on fr. 2a, 7 ff. (*Call.* I, 102). In a school: Herond. 3, 57, Diog. Laert. 6, 69.

wondered at, then, that in line 82 of *Delos* the poet, pretending to be at a loss at a certain point, suddenly turns to those goddesses, and is immediately provided by them with an answer which is presented without any introductory or concluding formula?[39] Moreover the proud (and unparalleled) ἐμαί with θεαὶ ... Μοῦσαι can hardly escape notice: from now on the Muses were to be Callimachus' very special goddesses.

2.2 *The date of the Hymn to Delos*

Select Bibliography

Fraser, *PA* I, 657 f.
F. T. Griffiths, "The Date of Callimachus' Hymn to Delos", *Maia* n.s. 29-30 (1977-78), 95-100.
Herter, *RE* Suppl. V, 441; XIII, 238.
G. Perrotta, "Studi di poesia ellenistica", *SIFC* n.s. 4 (1925-27), 41-62.

As *termini post* and *ante quem* for *Delos*, the annihilation by Philadelphus of a body of mutinous Gaulish mercenaries and the naval battle near Cos have now been generally acknowledged.[40] For the first one, 275 B.C. seems to be the most plausible date,[41] for the latter 262/1.[42]

To fix the date of composition of the hymn more precisely within this period, several considerations have been put forward, none of which really offers conclusive evidence. They include the following:

(i) The hymn must have been written after the death of Arsinoe in 270, since the queen is not mentioned in it. — Concerning this point Griffiths rightly argues that Philadelphus and Arsinoe are hardly ever combined in eulogies, that there is no place for Arsinoe in a poem in which the parallel Ptolemy-Apollo is so obvious, and that it was pre-eminently the *diva* Arsinoe who attracted poetic attention.[43]

(ii) The hymn must have been composed after the establishment of the cult of the Theoi Adelphoi in 272/1,[44] on account of Ptolemy's being called θεός in line 165. — Again I may sum up Griffiths' objections here: it would have been extremely bare, not to say almost insulting, to call Philadelphus simply θεὸς ἄλλος *after* the official *apotheosis*, and Callimachus' evasive style—the words in question are spoken from Leto's womb by an embryonic Apollo—is

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[39] See below, ch. 3.2.3.

[40] Herter, *RE* Suppl. XIII, 238; Griffiths, *o.c.*, 95. For further possible allusions in *Delos* to contemporaneous events see the Commentary below, 1.78 (on the battle between Antigonos and Keraunos, 281 B.C.) and 1.96 (on the banishment of Arsinoe I to Koptos, 279 or 276/5 B.C.).

[41] Will, I, 125 f.

[42] *Id.*, 201 f. However, the effect of this battle was probably not so disastrous as it is often maintained: see Will, 206 f.

[43] For the possibility that Arsinoe *is* present in *Delos*, but under the guise of Aphrodite, see the Commentary below, p. 71.

[44] Fraser, *PA* I, 215; II, 364 f.

more fitting to a situation where Ptolemy has not yet been officially deified. It must be added that Callimachus' act in calling Philadelphus a god was not at all without precedent: first, Soter had already been deified during his lifetime by limited groups of people,[45] and second, Demetrius Poliorcetes and Antigonos Gonatas were also hailed as gods during their lifetime by poets.[46]

(iii) The hymn must have been composed after Theocritus' *Id.* 17, because *Delos* clearly develops and elaborates some of that poem's themes.[47] — Here Griffiths rightly objects that an imitator may as well condense and compress his model as elaborate it. By analysing the similarities between the *Ptolemy* on one hand and *Zeus* and *Delos* on the other, Griffiths tries to prove just the reverse: according to him, the unmistakable pattern of allusions in these poems only makes sense if Theocritus is later. But even if his conclusions are accepted (personally I prefer to remain sceptical as to the possibility of establishing priority on account of verbal similarities in two different poems), the gain is only small, since the date of *Id.* 17 is not at all established: Gow's date, 273-2 B.C., is mainly based on the vague description of the Ptolemaic Empire in lines 86ff., but according to Fraser,[48] a date as early as *ca.* 276/5 cannot be excluded.

(iv) The hymn must have been composed shortly after the Gaulish attack on Delphi,[49] since the description of the event occupies such a pre-eminent place in *Delos*.[50] Moreover, it should closely follow Philadelphus' victory over the mutinous Gauls at the Nile, because (a) it is the last event mentioned by Apollo in his prophecy,[51] and (b) it was only a small success, nothing to be very proud of, and not something to be remembered for a long time.[52] — B. Ehrlich[53] here once objected that the insignificant affair of the mercenaries could also have been put forward by Callimachus many years later out of 'poetical need', that is, because it fitted the parallel Apollo-Philadelphus so well. It is far more probable, however, that the reverse is true: the parallel was suggested to our poet because both of them had fought the Gauls, and were patrons of the arts at that.

Of the four theses mentioned the last one appeals to me most. It is really

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[45] H. Volkmann, *RE* XXIII, 2, 1637; Fraser, *PA* I, 245; Pfeiffer, *Kallimachosstudien* (München 1922), 33ff.

[46] On Demetrius: V. Ehrenberg, *Antike* 7 (1931), 279ff.; F. Taeger, *Charisma* (Stuttgart 1957), 271ff. On Antigonos: Plut. *Mor.* 360 C-D; W. W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* (Oxford 1913), 251.

[47] Perrotta, *art. cit.*, 41ff.; Reinsch-Werner, *Call. hes.* 376f.

[48] *PA* II, 933f.

[49] Late autumn 279 or, less probably, early spring 278: see F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, I (Oxford 1957), 50; G. Nachtergael, *Les Galates en Grèce et les Sôtèria de Delphes* (Bruxelles 1977), 173; cf. my "The Boys and the Barbarians", *Mnem.* 32 (1979), 121.

[50] Cahen, *Call.*, 406.

[51] Perrotta, *art. cit.*, 57.

[52] Wilamowitz, *Textgeschichte der griechischen Bukoliker* (Berlin 1906), 173.

[53] "De Callimachi hymnis quaestiones chronologicae", *Bresl. phil. Abh.* 7 (1894), 13.

unlikely that after the sweeping success of the First Syrian War,[54] Callimachus, wishing to praise the military achievements of Philadelphus, would have come forward with the insignificant affair of the mercenaries and nothing more; and, on the positive side, the vividness of the whole scene and the emotional tone of the words that characterize the Gauls and their actions[55] suggest that the hymn indeed was written "sous le coup de l'émotion causée par cette révolte à Alexandrie".[56]

If we accept then the last thesis and combine it with the idea put forward in the previous chapter that *Delos* was possibly written as a birthday poem for Philadelphus, we could fix the poem's date very precisely. As was said above, the mutiny of the Gauls, a by-product of the revolt of king Magas of Cyrene, took place in 275 B.C., that is, the 8th regnal year of Philadelphus as sole king, and the 11th reckoned from the beginning of his co-regency,[57] which ran from 16 or 17 February 275 to 7 March 274.[58] Since the king's birthday and the anniversary of his accession to the throne were celebrated (almost) simultaneously, 7 March 274 B.C. could not unreasonably be considered as the date on which Callimachus recited *Delos* for the first time in the Alexandrian Museum.

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[54] 274-271 B.C., see Will, I, 127 ff.

[55] Cf. 1.183 ἀναιδέας ἐχθομένας τε, 184 κακὴν ὁδόν and ἄφρονι φύλῳ.

[56] A.-J. Reinach, "Les Gaulois en Égypte", *REA* 13 (1911), 40.

[57] Koenen, *o.c.*, 62 f., 101.

[58] A. E. Samuel, "Ptolemaic Chronology", *Münch. Beitr. Pap. forsch.* 43 (1962), 69 ff. and Table C on p. 166.

CHAPTER THREE

SOME ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE AND STYLE [1]

3.1 *Vocabulary* [2]

Select Bibliography

Cahen, *Call.*, 483-538.

E. Fernandez-Galiano, *Léxico de los himnos de Calimaco*, I (Madrid 1976); II (1977); III (1978); IV (1980).

A. Giannini, "Callimaco e la tragedia", *Dioniso* 37 (1963), 48-73.

Herter, *BJ* 215; *RE* Suppl. V, 47 ff.; XIII, 247 ff.

Kuiper, *passim*.

Lapp, 155 ff.

R. Schmitt, *Die Nominalbildung in den Dichtungen des Kallimachos von Kyrene* (Wiesbaden 1970), esp. 153 ff. ("Der Wortschatz des Kallimachos").

M. T. Smiley, "Callimachus' Debt to Pindar and Others", *Ha* 40 (1914), 46-72.

A. Zinato, "Tecnicismi e interferenze semantiche nel linguaggio callimacheo", *BIFG* 2 (1975), 209-229.

3.1.1 *Synopsis*

985 items	80.5 % Epic (793)	(a)	Epic + other poetry + prose	538
		(b)	Epic + other poetry	139
		(c)	Epic + Tragedy	25
		(d)	Epic + lyric poetry	9
		(e)	Epic + prose	8
		(f)	Epic only	74
	19.5 % Non-epic (192)	(a)	Non-epic poetry + prose	26
		(b)	Tragedy alone	20
			Tragedy + prose	22
			Tragedy + lyric poetry	3
		(c)	Lyric	5
		(d)	Prose	31
		(e)	Various	11
		(f)	Hellenistic poetry:	
			Callimachus + contemporaries	18
			Callimachus first or alone	56

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[1] Those subjects were mainly chosen which recently have received attention in special studies, periodicals, etc.

[2] The data presented in this chapter were established by means of *LSJ*, the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, the *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, Chantraine's *Dictionnaire étymologique*, Denniston's *Greek Particles*, and current indexes of all kinds of prehellenistic Greek poetry (and,

3.1.2 An *Index Verborum* made solely for *Delos* in Pfeiffer's manner would contain 985 lemmata.[3] Of these, 793 or 80.5 % occur already in what we possess of early epic. They can be subdivided as follows:

(a) 538 (54.6 %) 'general' Greek words, found in poetry and prose alike, such as γυνή, νῆσος, ἀγαθός, μακρός, γίγνομαι, μένω; proper names[4] like Ἀπόλλων, Δωδώνη, Λητώ, Χίος, and most pronouns, particles, prepositions, conjunctions, etc.

(b) 139 (14.1 %) poetic words, counted as such when occurring in early epic as well as in at least two of the following categories: Comedy, Elegy, Iambus, Lyric, Tragedy. They include substantives such as ἄνασσα, δίνη, λαῖφος, ὁμοκλή, adjectives such as δειλός, ἔκπαγλος, νιφόεις, τυτθός, verbs such as αἴθω, κέλομαι, λίσσομαι, πατέω, adverbs such as αὖθι, δήν, ἔμπης, τηλόθεν. They may occasionally occur in prose, too.

(c) 25 words (2.5 %) are almost exclusively found in epic and Tragedy, among them αἶα, αἰνός, ἄλη, ἀμφιβαίνω, γλωχίς, Δηλιάς, ἐκθρώσκω, εὐαγής, μετόπισθε, τίπτε, and proper names like Ἑλίκη, Ἐνύω, and Τηθύς.

(d) 9 words can be labelled 'epic-lyric': ἀποδατέομαι, Ἀστερίη, γναμπτός, καναχηδά, κοτέω, Μελίη, ὀνοτός, ὑποτρέω, and Φιλύρη.

(e) 8 words are found in epic as well as in Herodotus and/or Attic prose: δράγμα, ἐπιμίσγω, ἐπιπλέω, καλάμη, ὀσάκις, πολίχνη,[5] πολυχρόνιος, and Φενεός.[6]

(f) 74 words (7.5 %) are exclusively epic, among which ἀέθλιον, ἀκωκή, ἀλαστέω, ἄορ, ἀπειλητήρ, ἀποτρωπάω, ἄραβος, αὐτῆμαρ, ἄψ.[7]

3.1.3 In themselves, these words offer nothing remarkable, since they belong to the idiom that can be expected in a hexameter hymn. However,

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occasionally, prose), especially G. Fatouros' *Index verborum zur frühgriechischen Lyrik*. Fernandez-Galiano's lexicon was used only incidentally, the material already having been collected when his work appeared.

[3] Words obelized by Pfeiffer are not counted, nor is Δωριεύς (177b). I listed κεῖνος under ἐκεῖνος, Ἕσπερος under ἕσπερος, Νύμφαι under νύμφαι. In 1.66 I read εὐρειάων, not αἰπειάων. I did not consider ἐπι ... ἧστο in 1.66 f. a tmesis, as Pfeiffer does, but counted both elements separately. I added Πήλιον (118), which is lacking in Pfeiffer's Index, and εὐαγέω, since in 1.68 εὐαγέων is this verb's participle.

[4] I do not exclude proper names from my statistics here, since apart from instances such as Νεῖλος and Πτολεμαῖος names will have come to Callimachus' knowledge in the same way as the rest of his vocabulary, viz. through literature.

[5] Though in the so-called Megarian variant of *Il.* 2, 557 it is a proper name, form and *sedes* of πολίχνης in 1.41 suggest that Call. had this Homeric line in mind here.

[6] Spelt Φενειός in 1.71, if Arnaldus' correction is right; see the Commentary *ad loc.*

[7] I do not distinguish here between Homer, the Homeric hymns, Hesiod and further early Greek epic, since (a) the scarcity of our data in some of these fields makes statistics almost worthless, and (b) Hellenistic poets seem to have drawn from all these sources indiscriminately. The special influence of Hesiod, which was studied extensively by H. Reinsch-Werner, is dealt with in the Commentary, since the references generally do not concern a single word, but word-combinations, whether with variation or not.

special effects can be obtained by these words, when they are presented in an unusual form (e.g. in an aorist, whereas Homer only uses present tense forms) and/or in an unusual *sedes*. These effects will be dealt with in the Commentary.

3.1.4 192 items, or 19.5 %, are not found in our epic sources. The following survey is presented with all reserve, since it is probable that many of the words listed do in fact belong to epic idiom, of which Callimachus' knowledge was so much greater than ours nowadays.

(a) 26 words belong to the category of general non-epic words. They are proper names such as Θεσσαλίη, Κιθαίρων, Νεῖλος and Πακτωλός, adjectives such as βόρειος, γενέθλιος, κύκλιος, and στενός, the substantives ἀπαρχή, ἐφέδρος, and λέαινα, the verbs ἐμπλέκω, ἐπαείδω/-ᾄδω and ἐπι-σκοπέω, and the interrogative ποῖ.

(b) 44 items are found in Tragedy, almost half of which almost exclusively there, as follows:[8]

1) Almost exclusively Tragic (20): Αὔγη (E., but perhaps also in Hes. fr. 165, 6), βαρύθυμος (E. *Md.* 176*), βοόστασις (A. *Pr.* 653; also in *inscr. Delos*, IV B.C.), Βοῦρα (A. fr. 745 Mette*), βυσσόθεν (S. *Ant.* 590*, also in Babr.), Γεραίστιος (E. *Or.* 992, cf. Ar. *Eq.* 561), ἐνναίω (S., E.), ἐπιστείβω (S. *OC* 56), εὐαγέω (E. *Ba.* 1008 f*), εὐαίων (S., E., regularly *), Θεσσαλίς (S., E.), Ἴναχος (A., E.; also in Hes. fr. 122?), κακόγλωσσος (E. *Hc.* 661), μύκημα (A., E.), νυμφεῖον (S.), περιναίω (A. *Su.* 1021*), Πλειστός (A. *Eu.* 27), πρυμνόθεν (A. *Se.* 71, 1056*), Σαρωνικός (A., E.), and Τιτηνίς (A., E.*).

2) Tragedy + (mainly Attic) Prose (22): ἀνθαιρέω (E.; Pl., Th., Xen.), ἀντηχέω (E. *Alc.* 423, *Md.* 426*; Arist., Hippocr.), ἀπαρνέομαι (S., E.; Antiph., Arist., Hdt., Pl., Th.), ἀποστυγέω (S.*, E.*; Hdt.; also in Melanipp.), αὐτοχθών (E.; Hdt., Isocr., Lys., Th.; also in Ar.), ἄφετος (A. *Pr.* 666, E. *Ion* 822; Isocr., Pl.), ἄψοφος (S. *Tr.* 967*, E. *Tr.* 887; Arist.), δεσπότις (S., E.; Pl.), διάβροχος (E.; Arist., Hippocr., Th.), ἐλελίζω (E.*; Xen.; also in Ar.), ἐπωμίς (Achaios, Chairemon, E.; Hippocr., Xen.), ἐρυμνός (E.; Xen., Th.), θεωρίς (A. *Se.* 857; Hdt.), καθέρπω (S. *Al.* fr. 89, 2 P.; Xen., inscrr.; also in Ar.), λέχριος (S.*, E. *Hc.* 1026, *Md.* 1168; Xen.), λόχεια (E. *IT* 382; Pl.), Μηλίς (S. *Tr.* 636*; Hdt.), παλιρροίη (S. fr. 832 P.; Hdt., Arist.), Παρθένιον (E. fr. 696 N.; Hdt.), σιωπηλός (E. *Md.* 320; Arist.), Στρυμόνιος (A.*, E.*; Hdt.), and φρουρός (E. *Ion* 22, *Rh.* 506; Arist., Pl., Th., Xen.).

3) Tragedy + Lyric poetry (3): Δίρκη (A. *Se.* 273, fr. 764 Mette, E.; Pi. *O.* 10, 85, *I.* 1, 29, *al.*), Ἰσμηνός (A., S., E.: Pi. *N.* 9, 22; 11, 36, *al.*), and σεβίζομαι (A., S., E.; Pi. *P.* 5, 81, *I.* 5, 29).

(c) Only 5 words may derive directly from Lyric poetry: Δεξαμενός (Ba. fr. 44, and once on a vase-painting)., εὐηχής (Pi. *P.* 2, 14), εὔμοιρος (Ba. 5, 1,

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[8] Here the asterisk denotes a lyrical passage.

but also in Pl. *Smp.* 197d), Τελχῖνες (Stes. fr. 265 Page, Ba. fr. 52; cf. Simias fr. 11, 2 Powell), and φιλόμολπος (Alcm. S 1, Stes. fr. 193, 10, Boet. fr. 692, 2(a)5 Page, Pi. *N.* 7,9).

It appears that, as regards vocabulary, lyric poetry contributed next to nothing to *Delos*. This may make us *a priori* sceptical towards those who credit the hymn with a distinct lyrical character.[9] In other respects also the influence of Tragedy seems far more important.[10]

(d) The following 31 words are found mainly in Ionic and Attic Prose:

αἰφνίδιος (probably corrupt in A. *Pr.* 680), αἰώνιος, ἄμπωτις (but ἀνάπωτις occurs in P. *O.* 9, 52), ἀνήκοος, ἀπερείδω, ἀπομάσσω (also in Ar.), ἀποτρέχω (also in Com.), ἀστυφέλικτος (Xen. *Lac.* 14(15), 7, cf. *ep. adesp.* fr. 3, 35 Powell), βαρβαρικός, Γαλάτης, δαψιλής, ἑπτάμυχος (title of a book by Pherecydes[11]), Ἐχινάδες (perhaps also in E. fr. 151, III 15 Austin), ἦχος, ἰσάριθμος, Κελτός, Κέρκυρα, Κραννώνιος (cf. Simon. fr. 510 and 529 Page), Κύρνος, λαβύρινθος, μεσόγεια, ὀνομαστί (also in Critias fr. 6, 3 West), Οὖπις (written as Ὦπις in Hdt. 4, 35 and Plat. *Ax.* 371a, cf. Timoth. fr. 778a Page), παίγνιον (also in Com.), Παρθενίη (Arist. fr. 570), προστρέχω (also in Ar.), σπειρόω (Hippocr. *Oss.* 15), Τέμπη (Hdt. 7, 173), τοπήιον (Isocr. fr. 24, inscrr., Com.), Χαλκιόπη (Pherec. 7 FGH 78, Strattus fr. 30, 2 Edmonds) and Ὠλήν (Hdt. 4, 35).

(e) Various (11): ἀέθλιος (Thgn. 257), εἰσκυλίνδω (Ar. *Thesm.* 651), ἐλαφρίζω (Archil. fr. 176, 3 West, E. fr. 530, 8 N.), ἠνίδε (Plat. *epigr.* 16, 2 D.-B.), ἠρωίνη (Ar. *Nub.* 315, contr.), Κεκροπίδαι (S. fr. 737 (b) I, 5 Page, Ar. *Eq.* 1055, Eubul. fr. 10, 6; 20, 1 Edmonds, Hdt. 8, 44), λάθριος (S. *Ichn.* 66, Pl. Com. 3, 4 Edmonds, Men. fr. 718 Koerte), περιηγής (Hippocr. *Anat.* 1, Emped. fr. 27, 4 Diels), and σάρον (Sophron fr. 160 Kaibel, cf. Ion Trag. fr. 9 N.). Ἀνηλεής in A. *Pr.* 240 and Alcm. fr. 102 Page is probably corrupt, perhaps already so in the MSS consulted by Call. in the Museum; otherwise it could have been taken over from Men. *Epitr.* fr. 899 Sandbach, Hippocr. *Aff.* 40 or Andoc. 4, 39. Ἀνθέρικος is found in Cratin. fr. 325 Kaibel, Eupol. fr. 14, 5 Edmonds and Thphr. *HP* 7, 13, 2f., but may be older, since in *Il.* 20, 227 ≅ Hes. fr. 62, 1 and Hdt. 4, 190 it cannot be made out whether there it has to be derived from ἀνθέρικος or ἀνθέριξ.[12]

(f) 74 words are not found in pre-hellenistic literature. They can be subdivided as follows:[13]

1) Words occurring in *Delos* and in roughly contemporary writers (18):

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[9] See Cahen, *Call.*, 626 ff.; *Comm.*, 152; Howald, *Kall.*, 27; McKay, *PaP.* 21.

[10] See Herter, *BJ* 191 f.; McKay, *Erys.* 141 ff.

[11] See G. S. Kirk - J. E. Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers* (Cambridge 1963), 49 f.

[12] In *Il.* 20, 227 it is commonly derived from ἀνθέριξ, but Schol. BT *ad loc.* only speak about ἀνθέρικος.

[13] In this group the asterisk denotes a word not listed in one of Lapp's *Indices* (p. 155 ff.).

'Αἰθιοπεύς* (A.R., Theoc.), ἀριήκοος (A.R.), διαπλώω* (A.R., Nic.), διψαλέος* (A.R., Batrach.), ἐδέθλιον (A.R., Lyc.), εἰσέτι* (Theoc.), ἐπινήχω* (Batrach., Theoc., Cerc.(?) fr. 17, 11 Powell), κλείω* (A.R., Nic.), λεχωίς (A.R.), ληθαῖος (Lyc.), ὀδακτάζω (A.R.), Πελοπηίς (A.R., Nic.), περισκεπής (Moschion Trag., cf. Thphr. *HP* 7, 1, 4[14]), περιτροχάω (Arat., *A.P.* 7, 338), προσνήχω* (Theoc. 21, 18), Πτολεμαῖος (Theoc., etc.), ταχινός (A.R., Arat., Theoc.), and ὑποκόλπιος (Theoc.).

2) No less than 56 words in *Delos* are decidedly *proton eiremena* and *hapax legomena.*

'Αβαντιάς*: cf. 'Αβαντίς in Hes. fr. 296; Schmitt, *Nom.* 48 (on 'Αμνισίδες/'Αμνισιάδες).

ἀγγελιῶτις: cf. ἀγγελιώτης in *h.Merc.* 296.

ἀειζώων: cf. S. *OR* 481 f. ἀεὶ ζῶντα.

αἰνογένειος: cf. εὐ-/ηὐγένειος in Hom., *h.Pan*, Plat.

ἁλιπλήξ: cf. ἁλίπλακτος in S. *Ai.* 597, Pi. *P.* 4, 14, and παραπλήξ in *Od.* 5, 418 and 440; Schmitt, *Nom.* 140.

ἀλυσθενέω: cf. Hesych. and the *Et. M.* quoted by Pfeiffer *ad loc.* (p. 26).

ἀμφιβόητος: possibly a *metri causa* variation of περιβόητος (S. *OT* 192, Com., Att.).[15]

ἀμφιετής*: adv. ἀμφιετεί perhaps in *SIG* 963, 7 (Amorgos, IV B.C.).

ἀμφιπεριστείνομαι: for στείνομαι cf. *Od.* 9, 219, Hes. *Th.* 160, etc.; for ἀμφιπερι- cf. *Il.* 8, 348 (-στρωφάω), *Od.* 8, 175 (-στέφομαι), *h.Ven.* 271 (-φθινύθω).

ἀντημοιβός: cf. *Od.* 8, 249 ἐξημοιβός, 14, 513 *al.* ἐπημοιβός.

'Αονίη*: the ῎Αονες are mentioned in E. *Pho.* 644.

ἀπαυγάζω: αὐγάζομαι is epic (*Il.*, Hes.). For the compound Smiley[16] compares πεδαυγάζω (Pi. *N.* 10, 61), Kranz[17] ἀποβλέπω.

ἀσίγητος: made on σιγή as ἀτίμητος on τιμή, see Schmitt, *Nom.* 61 n. 9.

ἄτροπος*: unparallelled, and possibly corrupt.

βαρύγουνος: cf. βαρυσκελής in Trag. adesp. fr. 250 N.

γελαστύς: the -τυς suffix is a favourite with Call., see Schmitt, *Nom.* 79.

γηλεχής: "Paradebeispiel für die Homerimitation des Kall." (Schmitt, *Nom.* 123), cf. *Il.* 16, 235 χαμαιεῦναι. For the compound cf. κοινολεχής (S. *El.* 97) and ὀρειλεχής (Emped. fr. 127, 1).

δεκατηφόρος: a cult of Apollo Δεκατηφόρος is attested in Megara, Argos

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[14] See also McLennan, *Zeus* 40.

[15] Call. will not have taken over this word from Antagoras fr. 1, since the MSS do not have ἀμφιβόητον there, as Powell notes, but ἀμφισβόητον; see H. S. Long, *Diogenis Laertii vitae philosophorum*, I (Oxford 1964), 178 (*app. crit.*).

[16] *Ha* 40 (1914), 66.

[17] *Kall. u. die Sprache Homers*, 77.

and elsewhere, but the date of the inscriptions concerned seems to be unknown: see Nilsson, *GF* 148.

δυσήροτος: cf. *Od.* 9, 109, 123 ἀνήροτος.

δυστοκής: cf. δύστοκος E. fr. 863 *codd.*

ἑβδομάκις: remarkable variant of ἑπτάκις (Pi., Ar., Hdt.).

Ἑκαέργη*: in Hdt. 4, 35 the girl's name is Ἄργη; Call. may have found his version of the name in Hecataeus' book on the Hyperboreans (see Fraser, *PA* I, 496).

ἐλεημοσύνη*: from ἐλεήμων (*Od.* 5, 191) + the suffix -σύνη, as in the Homeric ἀγανοφροσύνη, etc.

Ἐλλοπιεύς: cf. Ἐλλοπία in Hdt. 8, 23, Philoch. 328 *FGH* 225.

ἐνδρομίς: see Bornmann on *H.* 3, 16.

ἐπιβρωμάομαι: seems to combine ἐπιβρέμω (*Il.* 17, 739) with βρωμάομαι (Ar. *Ve.* 618, Arist.).

εὐέστιος: cf. ἀνέστιος in *Il.* 9, 63, ἐφέστιος in 2, 125, *Od.* 3, 234, etc.

θερμάστρα: borrowed by Euphor. fr. 51, 8 Pow. = 57, 8 v. Gron.

θηρήτειρα: θηρητήρ is Homeric (*Il.* 11, 292, etc.). For the suffix -τειρα as a Callimachean favourite see Schmitt, *Nom.* 49.

Ἴριος*: if Pfeiffer's correction is right. Cf. Ἰριεύς in Th. 3, 92.

ἰχθυβολεύς: perhaps already in Euthydemus, if Hes. fr. spur. 372 belongs to him; A. *Se.* 132 has ἰχθυβόλος.[18]

καταβλέπω: βλέπω is non-epic;[19] for the compound cf. καθοράω (*Il.* 11, 337, etc.).

Κερχνίς*: cf. Κερχνεία, A. *Pr.* 676 *codd.* The regular form is Κεγχρεαί.

κιθαρισμός: cf. *SIG*³ 959, 10 (Chios, undated). It varies κιθαριστύς (*Il.* 2, 600); see Schmitt, *Nom.* 79.

Κοιηίς*: cf. Κοιογενής in Pi. fr. 33 d 3, and θυγάτηρ Κοίοιο in *h.Ap.* 62 (cf. Hes. *Th.* 404, Pi. *pae.* 7 b 44; 12, 13).

Λεχαῖος*: Λεχαῖον (subst.) denotes the northern harbour of Corinth in X. *Hell.* 4, 4, 12, etc.; cf. Simon. fr. 545 Page.

Ληλάντιος*: cf. Λήλαντος in *h.Ap.* 220, Theogn. 892 and Thphr. *HP* 8, 8, 5.

Λοξώ: not mentioned in the Herodotean version of the Hyperboreans story (4, 32 ff.). From Hecataeus, like Ἑκαέργη above?

Μακρίς*: recurs in Strabo (10, 1, 3, from Apollod.).

μελαμψήφις: cf. πολυψήφις in Hdt. 1, 55, 2 and ψηφῖδες in *Il.* 21, 260 (*hapax*).

Μεροπηίς*: cf. Μέροπες *h.Ap.* 42, Μέροψ *Il.* 2, 831, etc.

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18 For -βολεύς replacing -βόλος see Chantr., *Dict. Ét.*, 162 A.

19 See B. Snell, *Die Entdeckung des Geistes* (Hamburg 1955), 18.

μορμύσσομαι: possibly derived from Μορμώ (see Bornmann, *Dian.* 37). Cf. also μορμολύττομαι in Ar., Gal., Plat. and Xen.

Μυκαλησσίς*: Μυκάλη occurs in *Il.* 2, 869 and *h.Ap.* 41.

Οἰκιάδης*: made on Οἰκεύς as Οἰλιάδης (*Il.* 12, 365, etc.) on Ὀιλεύς.

Πίμπλεια*: cf. Πιμπληίς in Epicharm. fr. 41 Kaibel, A.R., and Lycophr.

πολύβωμος: to my knowledge the only compound in Greek with -βωμος.

πολύπτολις: cf. ἐρυσίπτολις in *Il.* 6, 305.

πυρίκμητος: cf. ἀνδρόκμητος (*Il.* 11, 371), πολύκμητος (*Il.* 6, 48), and ἄκμητος (*h.Ap.* 520).

Στροφίη*: not mentioned elsewhere.

τριποδήιος: for the suffix cf. μαντήιος, ἀνδρήιος, πολεμήιος (*Il.* 2, 338), etc.; see Schwyzer I, 468.

τροχόεις: Theogn. 7 and Hdt. 2, 170 have τροχοειδής as an epithet for the Delian lake. For the suffix cf. κυκλόεις (S. *OT* 161).

ὑποδινέω: cf. ἐπιδινέω in *Od.* 2, 151. The word, however, may be corrupt: see the Commentary *ad loc.* (1.79).

ὑπόχλοος: cf. εὔχλοος in S. *OC* 1600. To explain the formation, Kranz quotes *Il.* 10, 376 χλωρὸς ὑπαὶ δείους, but I would rather think of Attic ὑποχλωρός.

Χειρωνίς: possibly from the *Gigantomachia*, cf. *Titanom.* fr. 8, p. 111 O.C.T.

χορῖτις: the masc. χορίτης is not found.

ὠμοτόκος: ὠμοτοκία is a medical term (see *LSJ*). For the formation cf. μογοστόκος in *Il.* 11, 270, etc.

3.1.5 As appears from the above, hardly any bold innovation in vocabulary can be found in *Delos*, apart from the model example γηλεχής. Proper names such as Ἀονίη, Ἑκαέργη, Λοξώ, Μακρίς and Στροφίη will not have been a product of the poet's own fantasy, but will have been taken from sources now lost to us. The remaining are generally mere variants of traditional formations,[20] effected by changing either the prefix, as in αἰνογένειος ~ εὐγένειος, ἀντημοιβός ~ ἐξημοιβός, πυρίκμητος ~ ἀνδρό-/πολύκμητος, or the suffix, as in δυστοκής ~ δύστοκος, ἰχθυβολεύς ~ ἰχθυβόλος, τροχόεις ~ τροχοειδής. Further the frequency of formations on -ις is noteworthy (ἐνδρομίς, Κερχνίς, Κοιηίς, Μάκρις), as well as the *feminina* ἀγγελιῶτις, χορῖτις and θηρήτειρα.

3.1.6 It is hard to estimate what impression such a vocabulary would have made on the Hellenistic audience. It was certainly not the one it made on the Dutch critic C. G. Cobet, who showed a sovereign contempt for Callimachus'

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[20] Cahen (*Call.* 502 ff.) distinguishes three ways of innovation, viz. composition, derivation and modification.

"indigested hotch-potch of words and expressions raked together from every quarter".[21] According to Cahen,[22] the Homeric contribution of about 80 % of the vocabulary is enough to give the hymn an overall epic impression, which is not drowned by the remaining 20 % derived from Lyric poetry, Tragedy, and Ionian and technical prose. Moreover, a poem written in pure epic idiom would have certainly been regarded as artificial in Hellenistic times.

And not only in Hellenistic times, one might add. When we consider the Homeric hymn to Demeter, for example, for which Richardson[23] has prepared comparable material in his Introduction, we find that the vocabulary of this poem as well consists of predominantly Homeric, Hesiodic and other epic material, but contains also 58 words (of a total of about 3300) together with about 50 forms or meanings of words that are found there for the first time or even not at all elsewhere in Greek literature. The same is no doubt true for the other Homeric hymns as well as for later hymnal (and further hexameter) poetry.[24] So, as regards vocabulary Callimachus was essentially working on traditional lines in *Delos*, exploring and exploiting epic idiom, and enriching it with inventions of later poets and of his own. That he probably surpassed his predecessors in this field is exactly what makes his poetry Hellenistic poetry.

3.2 *Direct Speech*

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G. M. Bolling, "On the Interpolation of Certain Homeric Formulas", *CP* 17 (1922), 213 ff.
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R. Führer, *Formproblem-Untersuchungen zu den Reden in der frühgriechischen Lyrik*. Zetemata 44 (München 1967).
G. R. McLennan, "Direct Speech in the Hymns of Callimachus," *RhM* N.F. 117 (1974), 47-52 = McLennan, *Zeus*, 144-149 (Appendix II).

3.2.1 *Use of formulae*

(a) Introductory formulae. The lines under consideration are the following:

87 φθέγξατο δ' οὐκ ἀτέλεστον ἀπειλήσας ἐπὶ Θήβῃ·
108 (ἀμφοτέρους ὀρέγουσα) μάτην ἐφθέγξατο τοῖα·
121 τὴν δ' ἄρα καὶ Πηνειὸς ἀμείβετο δάκρυα λείβων·
150 εἰσόκε οἱ Κοιηὶς ἐκέκλετο·

[21] *Mnem.* 10 (1861), 391.
[22] *Call.*, 497 f.; see further Herter, *RE* Suppl. XIII, 248.
[23] N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford 1974), 30 ff.
[24] See, for example, V. J. Matthews' analysis of the use of traditional epic language by Panyassis, Suppl. Mnem. 33 (Leiden 1974), 82 ff.

162 ἀλλά ἑ παιδὸς ἔρυκεν ἔπος τόδε·
201 θαρσαλέη τάδ' ἔλεξας [ ][25]
212 εἶπε δ' ἀλυσθενέουσα·
217 εἶπε δ' ἔτ' ἀσθμαίνουσα, φόβῳ δ' ἀνεμίσγετο μῦθος·
239 (δέσποτις.) ἡ δ' ἀλεγεινὸν ἀλαστήσασα προσηύδα·
265 (ἐν δ' ἐβάλευ κόλποισιν,) ἔπος δ' ἐφθέγξαο τοῖον·

When compared with the stock Homeric speech formulae,[26] the originality of Callimachus' lines is manifest. The methods of innovation are twofold: (i) Two or more standard formulae are combined into a new arrangement. (ii) Unusual verbs and pronouns replace the traditional ones.

ad (i): line 121 combines the formula of the type Τὸν δ' αὖτ' ('Αλκίνοος, etc.) ἀπαμείβετο φώνησέν τε (*Od.* 7, 298, and twelve more times in the *Odyssey*) with *Od.* 24, 280 Τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα πατὴρ κατὰ δάκρυον εἴβων + the verse-ending δάκρυα λείβων, which is found (not in a speech formula) in *Il.* 13, 658; 18, 32, *Od.* 5, 84; 158, etc.

Line 239 can be considered to be a blending of *Il.* 12, 163 (...) καὶ ἀλαστήσας ἔπος ηὔδα, and *Od.* 1, 252 τὸν δ' ἐπαλαστήσασα προσηύδα Πάλλας 'Αθήνη.

ad (ii): For the use of ἔρυκεν in line 162 reference can be made to *Il.* 23, 734 εἰ μὴ 'Αχιλλεὺς αὐτὸς ἀνίστατο καὶ κατέρυκεν, and *Od.* 3, 345 Νέστωρ δ' αὖ κατέρυκε καθαπτόμενος ἐπέεσσι.[27] Call., however, uses the *simplex*, adds a non-personal subject (ἔπος), and lets direct speech start halfway through the hexameter.

In introductory formulae, φθέγγεσθαι is found in Greek in Ba. 15, 49, E. *IT* 1385, and at least six times in Call.: *H.* 4, 87, 108, 265; 6, 1, 118, fr. 203, 53, and perhaps fr. 759. The source probably is *Il.* 21, 213 βαθέης δ' ἐκ φθέγξατο δίνης, though strictly speaking φθέγξατο there is not the verb on which direct speech depends.[28] In *Delos*, φθέγγομαι does not seem to be simply synonymous with λέγειν / εἰπεῖν, as Führer maintains,[29] the utterances concerned always bearing a rather emotional character: in line 87, indignation; in 108, despair; in 265, pride and joy. In this respect the use is like the one in Lyric poetry and Tragedy; cf. especially the use of ἐφθέγξατο in *Delos* 87 to characterize the tone of Apollo's speech, which is strikingly parallel to E. *Andr.* 1147, *Ion* 729 and *IT* 1385, where the verb is applied to characterize oracular response.

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[25] There is a lacuna here in the text, but it is certain that this did not contain direct speech.

[26] Conveniently listed in Edward's paper.

[27] McLennan, *Zeus*, 49, cites in addition *Od.* 10, 429, but there ἐρύκανε has no bearing on direct speech.

[28] The main verb, of course, being προσέφη in 1.212. See Führer, *o.c.*, 27 n. 30, criticizing Pfeiffer's note on fr. 759.

[29] *O.c.*, 33.

Εἶπε + participle, in this order, is found at the beginning of the line only in *Il.* 19, 286: εἶπε δ'ἄρα κλαίουσα.[30] The reverse order is far more common, cf. *Il.* 16, 513 εὐχόμενος δ' ἄρα εἶπεν, 11, 403 ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπεν, etc. In Homer, the use of the compounds προς- or μετέειπε is far more frequent than in later poets (except in Apollonius Rhodius).

In Homer, on a total of 1369 speeches[31] (κατα-)λέγειν is found only twice in connection with direct speech, viz. in *Od.* 10, 250 and, very loosely, in 5, 5. There, however, the meaning both times is not 'say', but 'recount, sum up'. Being the usual prose-verb, λέγειν never was very popular in poetry. Apart from line 201 quoted above, Call. uses it three more times.

Τοῖος / τοιόσδε / τοιοῦτος, not found in introductory formulae in early epic,[32] occur in Xenoph. fr. 22, 1 Diels (with λέγειν), Pi. *O.* 6, 16, *I.* 6, 42, *pae.* 8a 13f., E. *Ba.* 151, *Md.* 1207, etc., becoming more popular in Hellenistic poetry.[33]. Call. makes use of them in *H.* 4, 108, 265 and 6, 97.

In Homer, ὅδε etc. only occurs in the *quasi*-introductory formula ἀλλ'ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον (*Il.* 10, 384, etc.), which is found always *within* a speech. After Homer, it is found first with a noun, like μῦθος (cf. Hes. *Th.* 24) or ἔπος (cf. Xenophan. fr. 7a, 2 West); substantival τόδε / τάδε occurs in Sappho (fr. 44, 3, etc.), Anacreon (fr. 347, 13 Page), and Pindar (*P.* 4, 86, etc.), and is the common pronoun in speech-introductions in Tragedy and prose.[34] Call. has τόδε ἔπος in *H.* 4, 162 and 5, 96, μύθῳ ... τῷδε in 3, 152, and τάδε in 3, 5; 80; 4, 201; fr. 7, 28; 178, 13; 194, 102; and 202, 53.

(b) Concluding formulae. They appear or are absent in the following lines:

99 ὣς.ἄρ' ἔφη·
121 —
133 εἶπε καὶ ...
153 ἦ καὶ ...
196 (αἱ μὲν) τόσσα λέγοντος (ἀπέτρεχον ...)
205 ἔννεπες·
215 —
228 ἦ καὶ ...
249 ἦ μὲν ἔφη·
274 ὧδε σὺ μὲν κατέλεξας·

Here, too, the traditional and the new are found intermingled. True epic

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[30] For the occurrence at the verse-end cf. *Il.* 7, 277 εἶπε παραστάς, 17, 334 εἶπε βοήσας. See McLennan, *Zeus*, 61.

[31] See A. Fingerle, *Typik der homerischen Reden* (München 1944), 308ff.

[32] For their use in a concluding formula cf. *Il.* 5, 274, etc.

[33] Especially with Apollonius Rhodius: see Führer, *o.c.*, 14.

[34] See E. Fraenkel, *Aeschylus, Agamemnon* II (Oxford 1950), 309.

formulae are ὣς ἄρ' ἔφη [35] and ἦ καί.[36] The first one is taken over unaltered by Call. in line 99, but varied in 249, where there might have been influence of such formulae as ἡ μὲν ἄρ' ὣς εἰποῦσ' (*Od.* 1, 319, etc.) and ὣς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα ... ἀγόρευον (*Il.* 5, 274, etc.). Führer (41 f.) refers to Pi. *P.* 4, 168 and Theoc. 8, 61, where ὥς is also omitted. In Call. *H.* 5, 82, the new expression recurs as ἁ μὲν ἔφα.

Likewise, the traditional ἦ καί is taken over unaltered by Call. in lines 153 and 228, but varied in 133. The frequency of εἰπεῖν in concluding formulae gradually increases after Homer, as Führer's list on p. 36 demonstrates; an apt parallel is Ba. 3, 48 τόσ' εἶπε, καὶ ....

Here, again, the special use of certain verbs and nouns is noteworthy.

'Εννεπεῖν introduces speech in Homer only once, cf. *Il.* 8, 412 Διὸς δέ σφ' ἔννεπε μῦθον, and it is found similarly used in Hesiod, the Homeric hymns and Tragedy.[37] Pindar was the first to introduce it in speech conclusions (*O.* 1, 86, *N.* 10, 79, *I.* 8, 45), and so can reasonably be regarded as Callimachus' source for its use, which is found in *H.* 3, 86, 158; 4, 205; fr. 177, 15 and 228, 58. On καταλέγειν see above, *sub* (a); the new formula of 1.274 seems to have been developed as the natural answer to the Homeric ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον quoted there. Cf. further *Il.* 5, 274 *al.* ὣς οἱ μὲν ... ἀγόρευον.

As regards ὧδε, pre-Hellenistic use in this kind of formula was found by Führer only in Tyrt. fr. 4, 10 West; from Tragedy, expressions such as ὧδ' ἔχει λόγος (cf. A. *Ag.* 1661, *Ch.* 521, S. *El.* 573) could be cited, although these never refer to direct speech; the same applies to *Il.* 12, 228 ὧδέ χ' ὑποκρίναιτο θεοπρόπος.

Τόσον etc. in concluding formulae is post-Homeric: *h. Merc.* 94, Corinna 654 IV, 21 Page, Ba. 3, 48, Pi. *O.* 13, 70, etc. Call. has τόσσα in *H.* 6, 65 and 4, 196. The last instance is in every respect the most untraditional of all formulae used in *Delos*, presenting an unpoetic verb (λέγειν) in an unusual form (absolute genitive, whereas εἰπών / εἰποῦσα is formulaic), in an unusual *sedes* (not at the beginning of the line), with the addition of an uncommon pronoun (τόσσα). The form here seems to vie with the peculiarity of the situation just described, viz. Apollo prophesying from Leto's womb. Likewise, the introduction of the god's speech in 1.162 is quite untraditional.[38]

3.2.2 *Space in the verse occupied by speech formulae*

One of the most remarkable features of direct speech in Callimachus is that a speech sometimes starts half-way through the line, the introductory formula

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[35] Some 25 times in A.E., see LfgrE, 1128.
[36] 38 times in Homer, see Führer, *o.c.*, 37 n. 8.
[37] Cf. A. *Ch.* 568, E. *El.* 783, 804, etc.
[38] See above, *sub* (a), and below, ch. 3.2.2.

consequently being very short.[39] Strict parallels to this usage in early epic are hard to find: the instances cited by McLennan—to which others can be added—either imply very short quotations (cf. *Il.* 6, 479; 15, 82, Hes. *Op.* 453, 454, cf. Thgn. 659, 921, Pi. *I.* 2, 11) or omit the verb of saying (*Il.* 23, 855). Only *Il.* 2, 70 presents a real specimen of a short concluding formula (ὣς ὁ μὲν εἰπών). This might have been enough for Call. to create short introductory formulae himself, but it is likely that he was influenced on this point also by Tragedy, where in particular quotations within messenger speeches may start half-way through the line, cf. S. *Ant.* 1211, E. *Ba.* 718, *IA* 430, etc.[40] There is also one example in the fragments of Antimachos (fr. 70 Wyss). The reason why Call. greedily adopted the device is however obvious: whole-line formulae almost necessarily involve the use of stopgaps (epithets, synonymous expressions, etc.), which are generally not counted among Callimachus' favourites.

3.2.3 *Omission of speech formulae*

The omission in line 121 is in accordance with epic usage where no verb of saying is needed when the person addressed answers immediately, his answer being introduced by some formulaic line with ἀμείβεσθαι or the like.[41]

In line 215, however, the situation is more complicated. According to Combellack,[42] one of the possible motives for the omission of speech formulae in Homer is that the poet by this means wanted to indicate that the events described after the delivery of a speech in fact are contemporaneous: this should be the case in *Od.* 12, 374; 20, 238 and 21, 203. It is far from sure that Call. realized this; it seems better to presume the direct influence of *Od.* 12, 374 only, which offers a situation strikingly comparable to the one in *Delos*: there Odysseus, here Leto, are uttering cries of despair, while in both an ἄγγελος is in a hurry to notify the god insulted. The likeness of 212 εἶπε δ' ἀλυσθενέουσα (*sc.* Leto) and 217 εἶπε δ' ἔτ' ἀσθμαίνουσα (*sc.* Iris), could possibly be intended by the poet to stress the idea of synchronism.

Quite unique is the omission of formulae in the 'Answer of the Muses', lines 84-85 (not listed above). Here, certainly, the addition of any formula would destroy the whole effect. Written as it is now, the Muses' voice seems to come 'out of the blue', just like the heavenly voice Cadmus heard after having slain the dragon.[43]

For the likewise unique ὁ δ' ἀνήκοος of line 116 see the Commentary *ad*

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[39] Cf. *H.* 2, 104; 3, 29; 4, 150, 162, 212; 6, 41, 53, 77, 84-86.

[40] In E. *IA* 414, a messenger himself in his excitement interrupts another speaker. Cf. further S. *Ph.* 974, E. *Hl.* 1514, and see Maas, *GM*, 36.

[41] See Führer, *o.c.*, 45.

[42] *Art. cit.*, 46ff.

[43] Ov. *Met.* 3, 96ff.

loc., since there the interpretation of the context has a large part to play. Cf. also above, ch. 2.1.10.

3.3 *Enjambement*

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J. La Roche, "Die Stellung des attributiven und appositiven Adjectivs bei Homer," *WSt* 19 (1897), 161-188.

G. R. McLennan, "Enjambement in the Hymns of Callimachus," *H* 102 (1974), 200-206; revised version in *Zeus*, 135-143 (Appendix I).

M. Parry, "The Distinctive Character of Enjambement in Homeric Verse," *TAPA* 60 (1929), 200-220.

H. W. Prescott, "The Position of 'Deferred' Nouns and Adjectives in Epic and Dramatic Verse," *CP* 7 (1912), 35-38.

3.3.1 A system for analyzing the stylistic usage of enjambement in Homer was first developed by Milman Parry. He distinguished two main types, viz. unperiodic and necessary enjambement. The first one he considered a typical feature of Homer's 'adding style', in which a following line gives additional, syntactically unnecessary, information about the content of the foregoing line. The information could be given in the form of a participle, an adjective, an adverb or adverbial clause, or of a sentence with a structure identical to that of the preceding one.

In the category of necessary enjambement a subdivision was also made: the first group consists of those cases in which verse-end coincides with the transition from the subordinate to the main clause, usually marked by a weak stop; with the second type one single sentence runs over from one line into the other, no punctuation whatsoever being possible.

3.3.2 This system was adopted in broad outline by McLennan to analyse the use of enjambement in Callimachus' hymns. To obtain a preliminary impression of the differences between the usage of Homer and that of Call., I here present a select table, based on the data given in McLennan's paper.[44]

	I	II	III
Homer	46.7	25.7	27.6
Hesiod, *Theogony*	33.0	39.1	27.9
Hesiod, *Works & Days*	43.0	27.2	29.7
Call. *Delos*	34.5	23.4	42.1
Call. *H.* 1+2+3+6	41.6	25.7	32.7
Apollonius Rhodius	34.8	16.0	49.1

N.B. I = no enjambement; II = unperiodic enj.; III = necessary enj.

[44] His figures are based on the work of Parry as far as Homer and Apollonius are concerned, and for Hesiod on G. P. Edwards, *The Language of Hesiod* (Oxford 1971).

The figures show what to a certain extent could be expected, viz. a higher frequency of lines without enjambement in Homer and the 'gnomic' *Works & Days*,[45] and a distinct increase of necessary enjambement in Hellenistic poetry. Not in all poems, though: in Call. *H.* 6, for example, the percentage of lines with necessary enjambement is only 21.6, against 48.9 in *H.* 3.

3.3.3 Parry's system was modified by Kirk on behalf of an elaborate analysis of enjambement in *Il.* 16. Since Kirk was mainly interested in the *effect* of enjambement in oral poetry, he neglected Parry's subdivision of category II, stressing the distinction made by him in III, to which McLennan —wrongly, as will appear—paid no heed.

Since Kirk's system is clear and easy to handle, his sample seemingly representative and his Table B rich also in other data that make comparison possible, I adopted it as a key for my own examination of *Delos* with regard to enjambement. The symbols are the following:

0 = no enjambement
1 = progressive enj. (= Parry's unperiodic enj.)
2 = periodic enj. (= Parry's necessary 1)
3 = integral enj. (= Parry's necessary 2)
4 = violent enj. (combinations of preposition or epithet + noun)

3.3.4 Here then are the figures for *Delos* compared to those of *Il.* 16, as extracted from Kirk's Table B (p. 150):

	0	1	2	3	4
Delos	31.0	19.6	8.4	34.5	6.5
				41.0 (3 + 4)	
Il. 16	38.3[46]	28.6	12.2	20.9[47] (3 + 4)	

In spite of a certain discrepancy between my figures and those given by McLennan concerning Call., and between those of Kirk and Parry with regard to Homer,[48] the general impression remains clear: 'necessary' enjambement has assumed important proportions in *Delos*, but only—as now can be seen—due the increase of the two 'strongest' types, in which a sense-unit runs over from one verse into the next.

3.3.5 To explain the increase in enjambement in Call., McLennan puts forward the following considerations:

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[45] See West, *Theog.*, 93.

[46] This figure had to be obtained by subtraction.

[47] Kirk adds the instances of 3 and 4 together, the distinction being to some extent subjective, and 4 being statistically unimportant. For Callimachus' style, however, calculated for effect as it is, this category is most interesting.

[48] In stylistical matters a subjective factor can hardly be ruled out: see Kirk, 118.

(i) Call. likes direct speech to start half-way through the verse. This, as he admits himself, is only a very small point: in *Delos*, it occurs only three times (150, 162 and 212).

(ii) Call. shows a "fondness for placing an adjective in one line in agreement with a noun in the next." In Homer, this is a common phenomenon, too, but almost exclusively with πᾶς, ἅπας, πολύς and θαμειαί, whereas with other adjectives it is found only some 20 times.[49] In *Delos*, indeed, the reverse is found: enjambement with πᾶς / ἅπας occurs only three times (2f., 55f., 139f.) against 7 times with other adjectives (1f., 44f.[50]), 76f., 138f., 237f., 241f., 302f.).[51]. We could add here also the instances of demonstrative/noun enjambement (four times in *Delos*: 73f., 91f., 151f., 244f.) and of participle/noun enjambement (in 183f. only), about which I have no comparable Homeric data. It is evident, however, that in this respect Call. has extended—though on not too large a scale—a use found already in Homer.

(iii) Call. shows a "fondness for overrunning the sense from one line to the first foot of the next." A list of the instances concerned was already made by K. Ziegler,[52] who for *Delos* referred to lines 2, 98, 164, 172, 184, 239, 254, 276 and 303. I do not understand, however, why we should confine the rule to the first *foot*, since there seems to be no basic difference with instances like in 164 νῆσον, ἐπεί and 49 Παρθενίης, (οὔπω γὰρ ...), the criterion evidently being a stop at the A-caesura (A 2, 3 or 4), to speak in the terms of Fränkel.[53]

In Homer's 'adding style', single words enjambed like this are often 'cumulative', elaborating a word of the preceding line which is syntactically complete in itself, cf. *Il.* 1. 1-2 μῆνιν ... / οὐλομένην. In *Il.* 16, Kirk counted 48 cases of this type of 'runover-word cumulation', or 5.5%; in *Delos*, lines 20, 71, 101, 154, 172, 173, 182, 221 and 322, or only 2.8%, present this phenomenon.

With the other instances of this type of enjambement in *Delos* integral enjambement is always involved, as in 2f., 48f., 184f., etc. Here the percentages are: for *Il.* 16, 3.1; for *Delos*, at least 9.6.[54]

(iv) A feature not mentioned by McLennan is the frequent occurrence of a stop at the bucolic diaeresis, which almost necessarily involves enjambe-

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49 See La Roche, 170.

50 There is a double correspondance here, as in *Il.* 16, 104f.

51 McLennan also lists 281-2, which must be an error, and 289-90, where μακρός, however, is the predicate.

52 *PhW* 55 (1935), 1403. The list is incomplete.

53 H. Fränkel, *Der homerische und der kallimachische Hexameter*, in: *Wege und Forme frühgriechischen Denkens* (München 1968), 104.

54 The percentage is higher when word-groups such as τόξον ἐμόν in 1.96 and δὴν ἔμεναι in 1.216 are counted as well.

ment.[55] According to Kirk's calculations, this occurs in almost 12% of the lines in *Il.* 16; in *Delos*, I counted 64 instances, being almost 20%.[56]

3.3.6 The above considerations indeed offer a direct explanation for the higher frequency of 'necessary' enjambement in Callimachus, but do not touch upon the underlying motive. This, however, is rather obvious. Poetry written in self-contained verse is necessarily somewhat monotonous, having only limited possibilities for variation. Now the poetry of Callimachus lives thanks to variety and effect, but—at least in the hymns—within the boundaries set by Ancient Epic. So to fill his lines with life and movement and, occasionally, to achieve an effect of surprise, Call. regularly spread his sentences over the lines more daringly, exploiting the possibilities present already in Homer. Enjambement, then, is almost a necessary consequence of a Callimachean principle of style.

3.3.7 The fact that *sequences* of integral or violent enjambement in *Delos* nearly always occur in passages where high tension is involved, strongly corroborates this thesis. As a matter of fact, sequences like this occur already in Homer, as e.g. in Achilles' reply to Odysseus, *Il.* 9, 335-43; in *Il.* 16, Kirk notes 60-63, 373-75, etc. In *Delos*, the instances are the following: 122-128 (Peneius confused by his conflicting emotions), 137-140 (Thessaly trembling at Ares' threats), 172-187 (Apollo's remarkable prophecy about Ptolemy and the Gauls, probably in one continuous period) and 240-242 (Hera's indignant remarks about Zeus' mistresses). Only 41-50 can hardly be called emotional: here, however, the enjambement may serve to illustrate the wanderings of Asteria through the Mediterranean in a virtuoso manner.

Sequences of 'weak' enjambement generally are far less conspicuous, unless they are stressed by other means, such as the anaphora in 260-263.

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[55] See Kirk, 113 and 129. A case such as in 1.225, where a complete sentence fills the last colon, is exceptional.

[56] Including those where a minor syntactical break at the bucolic caesura is not marked by punctuation in Pfeiffer's text, as e.g. in lines 30 and 56.

CHAPTER FOUR

METRE AND PROSODY

4.1 *Dactyls and spondees*

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B. A. van Groningen, *La poésie verbale grecque*, MKNAW 16 (1953), 202f.
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Id., "Untersuchungen über den Vers bei Hesiod und in den homerischen Hymnen," *WSt* 20 (1898), 70-90.
Id., "Der Hexameter bei Apollonios, Aratos und Kallimachos," *WSt* 21 (1899), 161-187.

4.1.1 It was observed already long ago that the Callimachean hexameter is more 'dactylic' than the Homeric one.[1] The difference is, from a purely statistical point of view, not striking: in *Delos*, the total number of dactyls is 1264 in 323 lines, that is, an average of 3.9 per line,[2] against an average of 3.7 per line in Homer.[3] There is, however, a distinct difference as to the preferred ratio of dactyls and spondees in the line, as can be seen from the table below:[4]

	Delos	Hom.	Hes.	*h.Ap.*	all *h.Hom.*	Ap.Rh.	Call. *H.* 1+2+3+6
4 dactyls + 1 spondee	52.0	41.7	40.6	39.5	41.7	45.6	48.2
3 dactyls + 2 spondees	24.8	30.6	32.0	31.8	28.5	27.0	24.3
5 dactyls	20.7	18.9	17.3	15.5	20.0	22.0	23.4
2 dactyls + 3 spondees	2.5	8.1	9.1	11.3	8.6	4.6	4.1
1 dactyl + 4 spondees	—	0.6	0.9	1.5	0.6	0.1	—

It appears that the impression of a more dactylic character in Callimachus' verse is caused not so much by an overwhelming number of dactyls, but by (a) the complete absence of lines with 4 spondees and the extremely low percentage of the three-spondee verse, and (b) the distinct preference for the combination of 4 dactyls with 1 spondee.

4.1.2 Within this combination, again, there is a preference for a special sequence of dactyls and spondees, as will be clear from the next table, in

[1] See Herter, *BJ* 210; L. Roussel, *Callimaque, Hymne à Zeus* (Montpellier 1928), 55f. F. Vian, *Ap. Rh. III*, Coll. Érasme III (Paris 1961), 28, takes the existence of an Alexandrian "goût du dactyle" for granted.
[2] Lines 177 a+b, 200 and 201 not being taken into account.
[3] 102,956 dactyls in 27,803 lines according to La Roche.
[4] Percentages regarding *Delos* are my own, the others La Roche's.

which the various combinations possible are listed, this time compared to those used in Homer only (the type-numbers added are taken from the list in van Groningen).[5]

	Delos	Hom.		*Delos*	Hom.
(3) dsddd	32.5	14.8	(24) dssdd	2.8	3.2
(1) ddddd	20.7	18.9	(22) ssdsd	2.5	3.7
(30) dsdsd	9.3	6.5	(6) dddds	1.6	1.1
(2) sdddd	8.7	13.2	(4) ddsdd	1.2	4.2
(5) dddsd	8.1	8.5	(31) dsdds	0.9	0.8
(23) ssddd	6.8	8.1	(29) sddds	0.6	0.8
(28) sddsd	4.0	6.3	(27) sdsdd	0.3	2.8

At this point the following observations can be made: (1) Van Groningen's typenumbers 11, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 25, which do occur in Homer, even if as a very small percentage, are avoided in *Delos*. (2) More than half of the lines of *Delos* show only two types closely resembling each other. We here notice a tendency to uniformity comparable to the one observed by Fränkel with regard to metrical practice.[6] It is conceivable that this uniformity in the greater part of the lines was introduced by the poet intentionally, so as to increase the impact of the less usual types.

4.1.3 Further observations can be made, when the data from the above table are presented in yet another way:[7]

	Delos	Hom.	Hes.	*h.Hom.*	Call. tot.	Ap.Rh.	Arat.
Spondees in the 1st foot	22.9	37.9	39.1	35.0	26.0	30.2	38.0
Spondees in the 2nd foot	54.8	40.3	45.9	38.5	48.7	43.4	41.0
Spondees in the 3rd foot	4.3	15.0	20.3	17.8	8.7	15.5	21.0
Spondees in the 4th foot	23.8	30.0	28.9	26.6	19.1	17.3	19.0
Spondees in the 5th foot	3.1	4.6	6.4	7.4	7.1	8.7	14.4

(1) In *Delos*, 84.5 % of the lines have a feminine caesura,[8] which, of course, can only occur in a dactylic third foot. In theory therefore a spondaic third foot could be found in the remaining 15.5 %. In fact, as can be seen, the percentage is only 4.3. Since the reason for this extremely low figure lies beyond direct metrical necessity, personal taste must be involved here.[9]

(2) In Hellenistic poetry, the preference for word-end at the bucolic

[5] The Homeric data are taken (with minor corrections) from van Groningen. I read ἀμύνειν in line 226 (with Herter and Morelli, see the commentary *ad loc.*) and scan χρῦσέῃ in 39, and χρῦσέοιο in 264.

[6] E. Fränkel, *o.c.* (ch. 4.2), 126.

[7] Data regarding Homer, Hesiod and Call. (total) from E. G. O'Neill, *YCS* 8 (1942), 159; those of the Homeric hymns are from La Roche, those of *Delos* mine.

[8] See below, ch. 4.2.1.

[9] There is probably some connection with the rule that a masculine caesura in a spondaic foot is followed always by a bucolic diaeresis: see below, ch. 4.2.2, Rule (4).

diaeresis increases. According to Naeke's Law, the fourth foot in that case should be dactylic. The percentage reduction of spondees in the fourth foot is thus accounted for.

(3) The so-called *versus spondiacus* occurs only ten times, a frequency remarkably low in comparison to that in the other hymns. That Hellenistic poets were well aware of the special effect this kind of verse could produce, may be seen from the extensive use that seems to have been made of it by Euphorion [10] and Aratus. In *Delos*, a spondaic line generally ends with a full stop or a semi-colon. It is found especially at the conclusion of a passage, cf. line 15 (end of the geographic description of Delos), 50 (wanderings of Asteria), 132 (speech of Peneius), and 147 (simile). In lines 62, 66 and 256, however, no effect whatsoever seems to have been intended.

In the spondaic lines of *Delos*, the last word is always four-syllabic, as is generally the case in other Hellenistic poetry, too.[11]

4.2 *Caesurae and Bridges*

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4.2.1 In the following I use Porter's system [12] to mark the places where word-end may or may not occur.

– | ⏑ | ⏑ | – | ⏑ | ⏑ | – | ⏑ | ⏑ | – | ⏑ | ⏑ | – | ⏑ | ⏑ | – | ⏓ |
1 $1^1/_2$ 2 3 $3^1/_2$ 4 5 $5^1/_2$ 6 7 $7^1/_2$ 8 9 $9^1/_2$ 10 11 12

Thus position 5 = penthemimeres, $5^1/_2$ = feminine caesura, $7^1/_2$ = Hermann's Bridge, 8 = bucolic diaeresis, etc.

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[10] A spondaic fifth foot is found in almost 16 % of all his hexameters: see B. A. van Groningen, *La poésie verbale grecque*, MKNAW 16.4 (Amsterdam 1953), 201.

[11] See W. J. W. Koster, *Traité de métrique grecque* (Leiden 1953), 68; McLennan, *Zeus*, 32 note 7.

[12] H. N. Porter, "The Early Greek Hexameter," *YCS* 12 (1951), 8 ff.; cf. Kirk, *o.c.*, 76.

4.2.2 In general Callimachus' metrical system is traditional, and in some respects even stricter than that of early epic which more easily admits anomalies.[13] I shall now go through the list of rules regarding Callimachean practice as presented by Maas and McLennan, adding the exceptions present in *Delos*.

(1) Every hexameter has word-end at pos. 5 or $5^1/_2$. — In *Delos*, only 50 lines, or 15.5 %, have word-end at 5;[14] the other 84.5 % has word-end at $5^1/_2$.

(2) Word-end at pos. $7^1/_2$ never occurs.

(3) In cases where there is word-end at pos. 4 or 8, the preceding element must be dissyllabic (Laws of Hilberg and Naeke). — Hilberg's Law is not respected in line 113:

ὦ πάτερ, οὐ μὴν ἵππον ἀέθλιον ἀμφιβέβηκας.

Since neither Maas nor McLennan note this instance, I suppose them to regard μὴν as prepositive, which in view of its emphatic character is hard to believe; nor is there a special syntactical relation between οὐ μὴν and ἵππον ἀέθλιον, οὐ μὴν denying the whole sentence. So the natural division of the line is ὦ πάτερ, | οὐ μὴν | ἵππον ἀέθλιον ἀμφιβέβηκας.

With regard to Naeke's Law, there is the much-discussed exception in line 226, which in the MSS runs as follows (226-7):

ἀλλά, φίλη, δύνασαι γάρ, ἀμύνειν πότνια δούλοις
ὑμετέροις, οἵ σεῖο πέδον πατέουσιν ἐφετμῇ.

These lines were in subsequent stages transformed by Maas and Croenert into

ἀλλά, φίλη, δύνασαι γάρ, ἀμύνεο πότνια δούλους
ὑμετέρους, οἵ σεῖο πέδον πατέουσιν ἐφετμήν.

Though this "brilliant combination of conjectures ... has become one of the most celebrated of metrical emendations",[15] I think with Morelli[16] and Herter[17] that it is preferable to keep the MSS text, since the 'violation' of Naeke's Law is not at all a serious objection and can even be well explained in terms of the line's construction and content.[18]

(4) Word-end at pos. 5 always occurs in combination with word-end at 7 or 8. — With word-end at pos. $5^1/_2$ no such rule exists. However, Call. shows

[13] Cf. E. G. O'Neill, Jr., "The Localization of Metrical Word-types in the Greek Hexameter," *YCS* 8 (1942), 116: "The Callimachean hexameter is more like than unlike its Homeric and Hesiodic predecessors," and Fränkel, *o.c.*, 126: "In seiner eigenen Dichtung hat er (sc. Call.) an dem Bau des Verses grundsätzlich nichts geändert, aber er hat ihn im einzelnen sehr erheblich verfeinert und gestrafft. In metrischer Hinsicht sind seine Verse gleichmässiger und glatter als die homerischen."

[14] This is the lowest percentage of all the Hymns.

[15] L. P. E. Parker, *Lustrum* 15 (1970), 75.

[16] "Callimaco e la legge di Naeke," *RCCM* 6 (1964), 140 ff.

[17] *RE* Suppl. XIII, 244: "unzweifelhaft heile Stelle."

[18] See below, the Commentary *ad loc.*

a preference for certain fixed combinations, as the following table may show:[19]

	Delos	Call. *H.*1+2+3+6	Hom.
$5^1/_2$ + 8	45.8%	39.6%	25.0%
$5^1/_2$ without word-end at 8	38.7	25.1	29.5
5 + 8	14.3	28.0	26.5
5 + 7[20]	1.2	7.3	19.0

Maas, the first one to notice that in *Delos* Call. generally avoided hephthemimeral after penthemimeral caesura (5 + 7), even tried to reduce the total amount of 4 instances (lines 4, 39, 71 and 233) by reading δὲ θέλει instead of δ' ἐθέλει in line 4, and δὲ γέρων instead of δ' ὁ γέρων in 71, so as to create word-end at pos. $5^1/_2$ there, too.[21] In line 39, however, the combination 5 + 7 is impeccable, as Maas himself must admit, and so it is in 233 (not mentioned by Maas): it is with good reason, therefore, that in lines 4 and 71 Pfeiffer conforms to the MSS text.

(4a) As regards the Law discovered by Bulloch (diaeresis at 6 is always accompanied by (a) word-end at $5/5^1/_2$ + 8 *and* (b) syntactical colon-end either at $5/5^1/_2$, or at 8, or at both), *Delos* in my view presents two certain instances, viz. l. 103 ἄψ δ' ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίην πόδας ἔτρεπε· φεῦγε δ' Ἄναυρος (5 + 8, punctuation at 8), and l.212 εἶπε δ' ἀλυσθενέουσα· 'τί μητέρα, κοῦρε, βαρύνεις; ($5^1/_2$ + 8, punctuation at both). The last instance is not counted by Bulloch because it would be impossible to establish whether τίς/τί is prepositive or not. Yet I think that τί followed by the object is clearly different from a case like l. 127, in which τί μήσομαι; can be considered as a sense-unit.

L. 209 is not covered by the Law since ἀπό is a preverb in tmesis, about which Bulloch reasonably argues that it should be added as the eighth item to Fränkel's list of appositives. Lines 13, 35, 77, 170, 215 and 255 do not count because these involve anaphoric pronouns (σύ δ', σέ δ', ὁ δ'), no. 5 of Fränkel's list.

(5) Words beginning before 2 should not end at pos. $3^1/_2$ (Meyer's Bridge) or 4 (Giseke's Rule). — There is an exception in line 144 θερμάστραι τε/βρέμουσιν.[22] In my opinion, there is also an instance in 153 ᾗ καὶ πολλὰ | πάροιθεν ἐπεὶ κάμεν. During recitation, a tiny pause between πολλά and πάροιθεν must have been inevitable, in order to make clear that the two should not be taken together.

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[19] Based on M. L. Clarke, "The Hexameter in Greek Elegiacs," *CR* n.s. 5 (1955), 18.

[20] Or, in Homer, other types. — For the rule that the combination of 5+7 without 8 (cf. *Del.* 39) must always be followed by a dissyllabic biceps see A. Wifstrand, *Von Kallimachos zu Nonnos* (Lund 1933), 39.

[21] The alterations had already been proposed by Beneke, *o.c.* (ch. 4.2), 48.

[22] For further instances see Pfeiffer on fr. 230.

(6) In *Delos* only line 259 has a monosyllabic ending (ἐπεὶ χόλον ἐξέλετο Ζεύς); it is preceded, according to the rule, by word-end at pos. 8.

(7) Word-end at pos. 7 and 9 in the same line is avoided. — Maas already noted an exception in line 311: γναμπτὸν ἕδος | σκολιοῦ | λαβυρίνθου, 'ein krummer Vers für das "krumme" Labyrinth'.[23] But I doubt very much whether the Alexandrian audience would have felt it like that too: in *H.* 1, 36 and 94, where the same peculiarity of metre is found, the context offers nothing crooked.[24]

4.2.3 As was said above, all *Delos*' lines have word-end at either position 5 or $5^1/_2$. In order to establish whether for Call. this traditional element had a value different from that in early epic, I undertook to investigate the extent to which the median caesura coincides with a semantic limit, in *Delos* as well as in Homer.[25] To do this, I adapted Kirk's system for investigating the effect of enjambement,[26] as follows:

0 = strong semantic break, marked by a full stop, a colon, a semi-colon, or an interrogation mark.

1 = loose connection between the two units on either side of the caesura, the second element being additive in character (adverbial phrase, adjective, participle, etc.).

2 = transition from subordinate to main clause, marked by a weak stop.

3 = no punctuation possible: the caesura is 'covered up' by a closely connected sense-unit, such as adjective + substantive, subject + verb, etc.

To compare the results of *Delos* with Homer, I took three random samples from the *Iliad*, together adding up to about the same length as *Delos*.[27] As the table below shows, Callimachus' practice does not differ fundamentally from the Homeric one in this respect either.

	0	1	2	3
Delos	7.4 %	24.5	11.8	56.3
Iliad	8.6 %	23.7	11.7	56.0

4.2.4 In his paper on the use of the 'double coupe' in the Callimachean hexameter, Carrière draws attention to the stylistic use the poet makes of the combination of the median caesura with the bucolic diaeresis (so $5/5^1/_2 + 8$). He notes that the 'metrical enclave' thus created is often filled by a single

[23] Fränkel, *art. cit.*, 130, n. 4.

[24] See McLennan, *Zeus*, 68.

[25] On the Homeric caesura Seymour did some fundamental work, but his statistics are inadequate for my purpose.

[26] See above, ch. 3.3.3.

[27] *Il.* 1, 1-100; 5, 251-350; 16, 1-125.

word or word-group[28] of expressive or emphatic character.[29] Examples, indeed, are manifold: e.g. line 3 ἱερώταται, 30 μέγας θεός, 57 διακριδόν, 86 ὑποκόλπιος, 94 τομώτερον, 111 ἐν ὕδατι and 184 κακὴν ὁδόν. It must be remarked, however, (1) that there are a lot of 'uninteresting' third cola, too,[30] and (2) that the caesura at pos. 5 or $5^1/_2$ is regularly, as was shown above, 'covered up' by a sense-unit, so that at the recitation the first 'coupe' went rather unnoticed in those cases: for example, in line 240 (ὦ Ζηνὸς ὀνείδεα) and 225 (πόντοιο κακὸν σάρον), it is only the stop at pos. 8 that enhances the effect. Instances such as in 125 (ἀπαύγασαι), 127 (τί μήσομαι;) and 255 (ὁ δ' ἔκθορεν), where caesura and diaeresis alike are marked by a stop, are in the minority.

4.3 *Quantity*

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G. Heep, *Quaestiones Callimacheae metricae* (Bonn 1884), 19ff.
Maas, *GM*, 75-84.

4.3.1 In determining the quantity of syllables the following less conventional rules are here applied:[31]

(1a) Syllables ending in one short vowel count as short, e.g. πŏ-λĭ.

(1b) A final long vowel or diphthong followed by an initial vowel may count as short (*correptio epica*).

(1c) All other syllables are counted as long, e.g. μῆ-νῖν.

Rules for syllable division:

(2a) With a word ending on a short vowel + consonant followed by initial vowel, division is made between vowel and consonant, e.g. μη̄-νῐ-νᾰ-εῖ-δε̆.

(2b) With two consonants within a word, division is made between them, e.g. ᾱν-θŏς.

(2c) With mute + liquid, division may be made either before the two or between them, e.g. κῠ-κλŏς or κῡκ-λŏς.

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[28] Which he calls 'stiphe' (cf. LSJ *s.v.* στῖφος) after L. Roussel.

[29] On the character of the third colon see also Fränkel, *art. cit.*, 114: "das dritte ist nicht selten emotional (...) oder emphatisch ...".

[30] Compare, for example, the impact of ἐν ὑδάτι in line 111 and in 191.

[31] See Fränkel, *o.c.*, *l.c.*; H. J. Mette, "Die Struktur des ältesten daktylischen Hexameters," *Glotta* 35 (1956), 3.

(2d) An initial liquid can be taken along with the preceding vowel or not, e.g. ŏ μ̄η, κ̆α-τᾱῤ-ŏ-ōν.

4.3.2 Callimachean practice in this field is mainly traditional. The following is noteworthy:

(1) As regards *epic correption*, Maas' statement[32] that Callimachus' use is more restricted than the Homeric one applies rather to the poet's elegiac poetry than to the *Hecale* and the hymns.[33] In *Delos* it occurs in the following positions:

Before pos. $1^1/_2$	:	9 times
Before pos. 2		15 times
Before pos $3^1/_2$	:	none
Before pos. 4	:	none
Before pos. $5^1/_2$	:	5 times (at the caesura, with the exception of 1.80, which has a caesura at pos. 5).
Before pos. 6	:	35 times, always with καί.
Before pos. $7^1/_2$	:	none
Before pos. 8	:	38 times
Before pos. $9^1/_2$	:	once (1.231)
Before pos. 10	:	11 times.

Epic correption appears to be avoided then at the 'crucial' positions $3^1/_2$, 4, and $7^1/_2$, admitted at $1^1/_2$, $5^1/_2$, and $9^1/_2$, and frequent at the bucolic diaeresis. In the last case, a certain preference can be ascertained for the use of (generally compound) middle forms, filling in the whole third colon, as in 1.9 ἀποδάσσομαι, 14 ἀπομάσσεται, 125 ἀπαύγασαι, 195 ἐλεύσεαι, and further in 95, 123, 127, 163, 170, 171, 193, 208, 222, 237, 244, 247, 269, 273, 297 and 307.

(2) *Rule 2a* is not obeyed in the following instances:

Before pos. 3	:	1.83 ἐτεōν ἐγένοντο, 194 νότōς, ἔνθ', 229 'Αρτέμιδōς ἥτις, and possibly 154, if the εἰναλίδας of the MSS is the correct reading there.
Before pos. 7	:	263 βαθῡς 'Ινωπός.
Before pos. 9	:	238 αἰφνίδιōν ἔπος.[34]
Before pos. 11	:	193 ἀνθέρικōς ὥς.

For the latter cf. *Il.* 13, 531, *Od.* 6, 309, etc.; for Homeric parallels to the others see Chantr., *GH* I, 104.

(3) Within a word or a coherent word-group such as τὰ πρῶτα, ἕνα δρόμον or ἐνὶ πρώτῃσι, syllable division with *mute* + *liquid* is nearly always in

[32] *O.c.*, 80.

[33] See Pfeiffer's note on fr. 284; McLennan, *Zeus*, 27.

[34] There can be no question of the digamma still being effective here, as Cahen puts it (see below, 37 n.), the irregularity being far better explained as an imitation of such expressions as ἅλιōν ἔπος (*Il.* 18, 423) and ὑπερφίαλōν ἔπος (*Od.* 4, 503).

between, so that the preceding syllable counts as long, e.g. Κῠκ-λα-δες, τᾰπ-ρῶτα, the only exception being κε̆κρυμμένα in l. 241, possibly after *Od.* 23, 110. In the remaining instances the syllable preceding mute + liquid is long *in arsi*, as in l. 41 σε̄ Τροιζῆνος and further in 83, 84, 85, 178, 207, 261, 263, 264, 274 and 309, but short *in thesi*, as in l.6 ἤνεσε̆ πρώτη and further in 31, 61, 63, 95, 144, 176, 210, 216, 235, 239, 272, 273, 280 and 283 (double occurrence).

Call. was apparently fond of placing mute + liquid after position 7, some 43 % of all instances being found there.

(4) *Initial liquid* is taken along with the preceding vowel in the word groups ὑπὸ̄ ῥιπῆς (25), κατᾱ ῥόον (159) and παρᾱ ῥόον (206), just as in *Il.* 7, 264 ποτὶ̄ ῥόον; for τε̄ Λοξώ in l.292 cf. Hes. *Th.* 227 Λήθην τε̄ Λιμόν τε.[35]

(5) Nu *movable* is used to lengthen the preceding syllable before a consonant in l.8 ἔχθουσιν, τώς and 71 + 72 φεῦγεν δ'; for the latter cf. *Il.* 1, 33 ἔδεισεν δ' ὁ γέρων.[36]

(6) *The placing of οἱ and ἑ* is again traditional, viz. after a final short vowel, with the exception of μή οἵ in l.238. That the digamma should really still be metrically effective here, as Maas states, may be considered an anachronism.[37]

The placing of οἱ and ἑ in *Delos* is as follows:

After pos. $1^1/_2$	:	in lines 16, 162 and 165
After pos. 2	:	in lines 150 and 234
After pos. 4	:	in line 238
After pos. 6	:	in line 31
After pos. $7^1/_2$	:	in lines 13, 61 and 192 (see also below, ch. 4.4.5)
After pos. $9^1/_2$	:	in lines 64 and 133.

(7) Note further the following *variations in vowel quantity*, with one exception all already Homeric: l. 1 ᾰείσεις ~ 304 ὑπᾱείδουσι, 9 Ἀ̆πόλλων ~ 86 Ἀ̄πόλλων, 64 Ἄ̆ρης ~ 133 Ἄ̄ρης, 257 ἱ̆ερόν ~ 70 ἱ̄ερόν, 175 ἰ̆σάριθμοι ~ 38 ἴ̄ση, and 22 ὕ̄δατος ~ 14 ὕ̆δατος. Only ἶσος is not found in Homer, but it occurs in Hes. *Op.* 752 and fr. 276, 2.[38] For ᾱορι in l. 31 cf. *Il.* 21, 21.

4.4 *Prosody, miscellaneous*

4.4.1 For *crasis* cf. l. 53 οὕνεκεν, 57 and 247 οὕνεκα, 160 δήπειτα[39] and 218 προὔχουσα, all traditionally epic.

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[35] See McLennan, *Zeus*, 46 with n. 16.

[36] See McLennan, *Zeus*, 51; N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford 1974), 336.

[37] Already in Hesiod the effectiveness of the digamma is a traditional feature: see G. P. Edwards, *The Language of Hesiod in its Traditional Context* (Oxford 1971), 132ff.; West, *Hesiod, Works & Days* (Oxford 1978), 62 n. 2.

[38] See also Schmitt, *Nom.* 55 n. 29; W. F. Wyatt, *Metrical Lengthening in Homer*, Incun. Gr. 35 (Rome 1969), 192.

[39] On the spelling see West, *Theog.*, 100; Richardson, *o.c.*, 177.

4.4.2 *Synizesis* is found in the ending -έων in Μουσέων (l. 5), Τεμπέων (105), Μοιρέων (165) and τέων (185), in accordance with epic usage.[40] If the text is sound, in l.264 the proper scansion will be χρῡσέ̯οιο (cf. 260 χρῡ́σεα, 262 χρῡ́σειον): in 39, χρῡσέ̯ῃ is the most probable then.

4.4.3 According to Maas, *elision* is strictly avoided by Call. at the median caesura ($5/5^1/_2$), at Meyer's Bridge ($3^1/_2$), Hermann's Bridge ($7^1/_2$), and Naeke's Bridge (8). In fact, however, it is found in nearly all possible positions:

In pos. 1	: 21 times
In pos. $1^1/_2$	: 10 times
In pos. 2	: 19 times
In pos. 3	: 14 times
In pos. $3^1/_2$	: 3 (8) times
In pos. 4	: 0 (6) times
In pos. 5	: 2 times
In pos. $5^1/_2$	: 0 (1) times
In pos. 6	: 23 times
In pos. 7	: 9 times
In pos. $7^1/_2$	: 1 time
In pos. 8	: 0 (1) times
In pos. 9	: 12 times
In pos. $9^1/_2$	: 12 times
In pos. 10	: 5 times

The occurrence of elision in the crucial positions thus appears to be restricted, but not totally avoided. The following remarks must be made:

(i) 5 out of 8 instances of elision in pos. $3^1/_2$ occur within a word-group such as οὐκέτ' ἄδηλος (53) and ἀπ' ἐμεῖο (124), and so do not count. But I doubt whether σύ γ' ἐμεῖο in 97 and 151 can be considered as such,[41] while in 221 the infringement of Maas' rule is unmistakable, σὺ δ' being followed in Pfeiffer's text by a weak stop.

(ii) At pos. 4 all elisions occur within a word-group, e.g. 194 ἔνθ' εὖρος, 294 οὐδ' οἵγε.

(iii) For the two exceptional instances of elision in pos. 5 which Maas tried to eliminate by altering the MSS text, see above, ch. 4.2.2 (4). The elision in this position is hardly striking in these lines, since in both the main pause of the verse is in pos. 3, distinctly marked by a stop.[42]

(iv) In l. 116, the elision at $5^1/_2$ occurs within the word-group ὁ δ' ἀνήκοος, the main caesura being in pos. 5.

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[40] See Chantr. I, 201.

[41] In Fränkel's list of appositives (*o.c.*, 143), the category of anaphoric pronouns in my view still requires a clear definition, *pace* Bulloch, *art. cit.* (ch. 4.2), 260.

[42] See G. Morelli, "Una nuova edizione di Archiloco," *Maia* 12 (1960), 135, 145 f.

(v) To get rid of the elision at $7^1/_2$ in l.215, Maas reads οὐκ ἄρα μέλλες there; but Pfeiffer's οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλες is fully justified as an echo of the Homeric formula οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλον/-ες/-ε (*Il.* 5, 686, *Od.* 6, 110, *h.Ap.* 379, etc.).

(vi) In l. 300, the elision in pos. 8 occurs within the word-group περί τ' ἀμφί τε.

As in the other hymns of Call., elision is rare in the endings of nouns and verbs.[43] The instances in *Delos* are: (i) nouns: l. 52 οὔνομ' and 202 δαίμον' (see Pfeiffer's *apparatus*); (ii) verbs: 147 ἔγεντ', 152 ἔσσετ'.

4.4.4 Again according to Maas, Call. allows *hiatus* only between a longum and a disyllabic biceps. In *Delos* it is found in this way 13 times, as follows:

In pos. 1 : in line 232
In pos. 3 : in line 42
In pos. 5 : in lines 141 and 193
In pos. 7 : in lines 39, 79 and 253
In pos. 9 : in lines 46, 94, 114, 127, 166 and 175.

We may ignore Maas' statement that in τῇ ἰκέλῃ in l. 232 the digamma still has consonantal force: the expression is adequately explained as a reminiscence of Homer (cf. *Il.* 11, 467, *Od.* 4, 249, Hes. *Sc.* 198, etc.). Nor has the digamma any influence in ἢ ἰσάριθμοι in l. 175, as the comparison with ἢ ἀπὸ δάφνης (95) and ἢ ἐπ' ἐμεῖο (114) shows.

Exceptions to the above rule of Maas are found in l. 30 ἢ ὥς, 38 ἀστέρι ἴσῃ, and 264 χρυσέοιο ἀπ'. The first one is a straight quotation from *h.Ap.* 25 and 214, while the second echoes such Homeric expressions as μαινάδι ἴσῃ (*Il.* 22, 460) and λαίλαπι ἶσος (*Il.* 11, 746 and 20, 51), and presents etymological word-play (Ἀστερίη ~ ἀστέρι ἴσῃ). In l.264, Wernicke proposed χρυσείου instead of the MSS reading χρυσέοιο, but the anomaly is not unacceptable in itself, Call. also elsewhere admitting isolated exceptions to otherwise strict rules. Schneider moreover refers to *Il.* 14, 154 as a Homeric parallel (στᾶσ' ἐξ Οὐλύμποιο ἀπὸ ῥίου). The hiatus in *H.* 3, 8, cited by Pfeiffer in illustration, is in fact quite different, since there it emphasizes a sudden break of thought (marked by a dash in Pfeiffer's text), whereas in *Delos* χρυσέοιο ἀπ' οὔδεος is a coherent word-group.

4.4.5 To the rule that Call. carefully avoids *postpositives* before Hermann's Bridge ($7^1/_2$) and Naeke's Bridge (8) I find the following exceptions: l. 13 ἀμφί ἑ, 22 δέ μιν, 61 δέ οἱ, 63 κορυφῆς ἔπι, 152 δέ τοι, 179 ἴδωσι δέ and 192 δέ οἱ, all before Naeke's Bridge. Postpositives at the end of the line occur in l. 36 (τοι), 183 (τε) 193 and 228 (ὥς), again not in accordance with the rule as noted by Maas.

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[43] See McLennan, *Zeus*, 132.

PART TWO

COMMENTARY

> 'He's known as the Hairless Mexican.'
> 'Why?'
> 'Because he's hairless and because he's a Mexican.'
> 'The explanation seems perfectly satisfactory,' said Ashenden.
>
> W. Somerset Maugham

1-27: *Proem*

1-10: 'Let me sing of Delos, because of her primacy among the Cyclades and of Apollo's wish to have his birthplace sung in hymns.'

1 f. τὴν ἱερὴν ... Δῆλον: 'That holy goddess, when will you sing of her, of Delos I mean ....' For the hyperbaton, rare in Homer when an adjective is involved, cf. *Od.* 12, 113 τὴν ὀλοὴν ... Χάρυβδιν. The postponement of the name of Delos is the more conspicuous here, since, as a rule, the first line of a Greek hexameter hymn mentions the name of the deity addressed (always in the accusative): see Meyer, *Hymn. Stilelem.*, 21, 41 ff.; W. Kranz, *RhM* 104 (1961), 3 ff., 97 ff.; R. Janko, *art. cit.* (*Introd.*, ch. 1, bibliogr.), 9. Call. here obviously aims for an effect of surprise: for a possible interpretation of this effect see *Introd.*, ch. 2.1.4. For the use of hyperbaton in Call. see further Bornmann on *H.* 3, 68 f.; Lapp, 37.

1. ἱερήν: common epithet with geographic names and notions in poetry, cf. *Il.* 2, 625 f. Ἐχινάων ἱεράων / νήσων, Hes. *Th.* 1015 νήσων ἱεράων, Pi. *P.* 4, 6 f. ἱεράν / νᾶσον, Ar. *Th.* 316 Δῆλον ... ἱεράν, etc., see E. Kienzle, *Der Lobpreis von Städten und Ländern in der älteren griechischen Dichtung* (diss. Basel 1936), 79 f. The epithet is appropriate, of course, to the sacredness of Delos, but here also serves as a preliminary characterization of the poem as a hymn, which otherwise would have been immediately evident from the proper name.

ὦ: as in Homer, the vocative with ὦ in Call. is confidential or emotional in tone, whereas the non-ὦ vocative expresses respect, and so is generally used by human beings addressing a deity: see Giangrande, *CQ* 18 (1961), 52 ff. According to Giangrande, by using the ὦ vocative Call. consciously aims here at a contrast with the lofty mode of expression used in Homer (cf. *Od.* 20, 18 τέτλαθι δή, κραδίη) and in lyric poetry, especially Pindar: Callimachus' ὦ θυμέ, τινα is supposed to be a 'pointed imitation' of Pi. *O.* 2, 89 θυμέ· τίνα and *N.* 3, 26 θυμέ, τίνα. This, however, is hard to believe, since elsewhere in *Delos* the part Pindar plays as a source of reference is rather restricted, Homer and Tragedy being the main contributors here (see *Introd.*, ch. 3.1); the similarity of θυμέ, τίνα could also quite easily be accidental, since the combination of words is in fact rather meaningless. The use of ὦ in our line is satisfactorily explained as being in accordance with the confidential and playful tone of the hymn. Cf. further fr. 75, 4 f. ἴσχεο, λαιδρέ / θυμέ, where the non-ὦ vocative certainly does not imply 'Pindaric loftiness'.

θυμέ: for the poet's addressing his own heart or soul cf., apart from the Pindaric instances quoted above, Archil. 128, 1, Ibyc. 317 (b), Pi. *P.* 3, 61 f.,

fr. 123, 1; see Gow on Theoc. 30, 11; Kranz, *RhM* 98 (1955), 103 ff., 278. Call. so does not conform to the stock formulae ἀείσομαι and μνήσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι of the rhapsodic *prooimion* (see Meyer, *Hymn. Stilelem.*, 19 ff.), but in his apparent wish to stress his personal concern with the Hymn's subject he borrows a lyric element, applied already in a hymn by Alcaeus, cf. his *Hymn to Hermes* 1 f. χαῖρε Κυλλάνας ὁ μέδεις, σὲ γάρ μοι / θῦμος ὔμνην (cf. *Od.* 8, 45 ὅππῃ θυμὸς ἐποτρύνῃσιν ἀείδειν): see D. L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Oxford 1955), 254. For another variation of the theme in Call. cf. *H.* 1, 5 ἐν δοιῇ μάλα θυμός.

τίνα χρόνον †ηποτ†: The Dutchman E. H. van Eldik seems to have been the first to have taken offence at the apparent tautology of the MSS reading τίνα χρόνον ἢ πότε (*Suspicionum Specimen*, Zutphen 1764, 25 f.). From that time onwards, the passage has been dealt with in three different ways.

(i) Some editors have kept the MSS reading and simply accepted the tautology, for example, Mair ("What time or when, O my soul") and Cahen, in his Budé translation ("En quel temps, ô mon âme, et quand donc"). The tautology is explained by the same Cahen (*Comm.*, 156) as lending emphasis to the expression. It could indicate then a certain impatience with the poet, as may appear from the translation of Howald-Staiger ("Wann entschliessest du dich ... zu besingen?") and especially in that of A. Rostagni, *Poeti alessandrini* (Torino 1916), 287 ("E quando, quando, animo mio, canterai Delo ...?"). E. Bundy, *CSCA* 5 (1972), 76 n. 91, defends the MSS reading by quoting François Villon's *Ballade des dames du temps jadis*, 1 f.: "Dites-moi où, n'en quel pays, Est Flora la belle Romaine"; but this quotation is just another confirmation of Vahlen's argument (*Opusc. Acad.* I, Leipzig 1907, 423) that in tautologies like these the general term precedes the more specific one: cf. S. *Ai.* 1006 ποῖ ..., εἰς ποίους βροτούς and E. *IT* 256 f. πῶς νιν εἵλετε / τρόπῳ θ' ὁποίῳ.

In my opinion, an even more serious objection against accepting the tautology is ἤ. In Latin, certainly, *aut* can be used in expressions of this kind, cf. Plaut. *Cist.* 169 *quo aut quas in aedes*, Cat. 63, 55 *ubinam aut quibus locis*. In Greek, however, only τε or καί seems to be found, cf. *Il.* 10, 52 δηθά τε καὶ δολιχόν, S. *Ai.* 414 f. πολύν ... δαρόν τε ... χρόνον, and E. *IT* 256 f. quoted above.

(ii) Other commentators have also kept the MSS reading, but have explained that there is no tautology at all, τίνα χρόνον and πότε being two quite different notions. The first to do this was Vahlen (*o.c.*, *l.c.*), translating τίνα χρόνον as *quantum temporis*. The sense then would be: Delos is so rich a subject for song, that the poet exclaims dumbfounded: "*Quamdiu canes, anime, Delum, quae tam infinitam canendi materiam largiatur?*" But τίνα χρόνον is hardly equivalent to πόσον χρόνον, and the idea of the poet speculating on the amount of time required for his task is of course absurd.

Giangrande, *H* 91 (1963), 151 ff., thinks τίνα χρόνον to be a reference to ἕνα χρόνον in *Il.* 15, 511*, interpreted generally in Antiquity as 'once for all' ("auf einmal"). Τίνα χρόνον accordingly should mean 'at which point, on which place in the order' ("Welches Mal"), the train of thought being as follows: 'If I intend to praise all Cyclades, when will it be Delos' turn to be sung, and when exactly will it happen?', the two questions getting a ready answer in 1.4 ('Delos wants to be the *first* to be praised') and 9 ('*Now* I shall praise Delos') respectively. It is, however, unthinkable that the poet would here announce as it were the publication of a complete Cycladic song cycle, the hymn to Delos being the first one to appear. The passage was far better explained by Bundy as a conventional poetic apology for narrowing the subject, see below, p. 53. Moreover, if τίνα χρόνον should mean 'where in the series', the connexion with the next line by ἦ μέν is awkward, since in that case should expect an explanatory 'for'. It is further hard to believe that τίνα χρόνον would be associated by the Alexandrian audience exclusively with ἕνα χρόνον, given the fact that πολύν, τόσσον and δηρὸν χρόνον frequently occur in the same *sedes* in Homer, too. But the main stumbling-block in the interpretation is again ἤ: if τίνα χρόνον and πότε should introduce two questions, which are both answered in what follows, we should expect not ἤ, but καί/δέ/τε, as in the string of questions in *Od.* 1, 170 ff.; cf. also Theoc. 15, 44 πῶς καὶ πόκα, with Gow's note; Ar. *Plut.* 335 πόθεν καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ.

The objectionability of ἤ was apparently felt also by O. Danielsson, who in *Eranos* 4 (1900-02), 77 ff., proposed to write ἤ ποτε or ἦ ποτε (with some of the MSS), which should be equal in meaning to δήποτε. Unfortunately, as he must admit himself, such ἤ ποτε is attested nowhere else in Greek, though ἦ has about the same value as δή in expressions such as τί ἦ, ἐπεὶ ἦ, etc. The lack of a parallel is the more to be regretted because the idea of impatience expressed by ποτε fits the context extremely well.

(iii) Emendations have also been proposed, none of them really convincing. Van Eldik wrote τίνα τρόπον ἢ πότε, but τίνα τρόπον hardly belongs to this idiom (we should expect πῶς, cf. *h.Ap.* 19) and the expression would offer a strange prothysteron, since the question '*How* will I praise you, Delos?' is only raised at 1.28. Reiske proposed τίνα χρόνον, εἴ ποτ', but, as Giangrande already remarked, there is no sense in the hypothetical εἴ ποτε, for Delos *will* be sung in this hymn. Vahlen's τίνα χρόνον ἢ 'ς ποτ' contains a very unlikely aphaeresis and a new tautology (for in his interpretation τίνα χρόνον = *quantum temporis*, which has the same sense as 'until when'), while the conjectures of Kuiper (τὸ νῦν χρόνος εἴ ποτ' ἀεῖσαι) and that of Maas (τίνα χρόνον, εἶπον, ἀτίσσεις, see the short note in *H.* 110 (1982), 119, with H. Lloyd-Jones' additional proposal τίν' ἐς χρόνον) are at the least paleographically improbable, since they depart too far from the MSS text.

As may be clear from the above, Callimachus' original text cannot in my

view have contained ἤ = 'or'. Unless Danielsson is right, emendation is the only possibility to get rid of it. I suggest that Call. wrote τίνα χρόνον ἠπύτ' ἀείσεις = 'at what time will you loudly sing of Delos?' Ἠπύτα is a Homeric *unicum* in *Il.* 7, 384, where it is used as an epithet of κῆρυξ ('the loud-voiced herald'); apart from that passage it is found only in Ael. *HA* 13, 21 (*orac.*), Opp. *Cyn.* 2, 136 and Q.S. 6, 170. Being rather rare, it could then easily have been changed by some scribe into ἤ πότ', under the influence of the preceding τίνα χρόνον. As to the form, Call. could have thought of ἠπύτα either as a nominative, cf. expressions such as in *Il.* 2, 148 λάβρος ἐπαιγίζων and 212 ἀμετροεπὴς ἐκολῴα (Chantr. II, 8 f.; Schwyzer II, 478 f.); or as an adverbial accusative, since in Hellenistic poetry the adjectives in -(τ)α appear as *indeclinabilia*, cf. Antim. fr. 36 πατρί ... κυανοχαῖτα with Wyss' note, Arat. 664 ἱππότα φηρός, etc.; see Schwyzer I, 560. With a view to the epic καλὸν ἀείδειν (*Od.* 1, 155), the last is slightly more probable. As to the meaning of ἠπύτα, 'loudly' makes excellent sense, especially if I am right in my theory that *Delos* was an official poem of Call. to thank his patron Philadelphus for his admission into the Museum; see *Introd.* ch. 2.1.8.

For the omission of the preposition with τίνα χρόνον (cf. on the other hand Hecale fr. 260, 49 κεῖνον ... κατὰ χρόνον) Wilamowitz (*HD* II, 62 n. 1) referred to E. *Hipp.* 1117 (with note on 1116), *Hl.* 479, Call. *H.* 6, 12, and—with καιρόν—S. *Ai.* 34, Ar. *Ach.* 23; see further Schwyzer II, 70.

ἀείσεις: future active forms of ἀείδειν are not found in early epic, but occur from Theogn. 4 onwards; see Young's note (in the Teubner edition); McLennan, *Zeus* 29; Williams, *Apollo* 38. For ἀείδειν + accusative, said of cities and the like, cf. *Thebais* fr. 1 Ἄργος ἄειδε, θεά, *Il. parv.* fr. 1, 1 Ἴλιον ἀείδω; see *LfgrE* 155 ff. The use of the future is conventional in the rhapsodic *prooimion*, cf. *h.Hom.* 6, 2 ᾄσομαι, 7, 2 μνήσομαι, etc.; see Meyer, *Hymn. Stilelem.* 20. The use of the second person, however, with the apostrophe of the poet's own soul, is more lyric in style; see above, p. 49 f.

2. Δῆλον: the name recurs four more times in the proem, with case variation, cf. 4 Δῆλος, 8 Δήλοιο, 9 Δήλῳ, 27 Δῆλε. For other such instances of *polyptoton* in Greek poetry see Pfeiffer, *HCS* 12 ff., and below, lines 81 ff. (δρυός ... δρύες ... δρύας ... δρυσί). The device here can be regarded as an extension of the use of anaphora of the deity's name in invocations, as in A. fr. 105 Mette, *A.P.* 10, 21 (Philod.), etc.; see Fehling, *Wiederholungsfig.*, 204. Apart from the unconventional place (only in the second line, see above) the name of an *island* as subject of a hymn also comes as something of a surprise. There is, however, a hymn of Alcaeus addressed to the river Hebrus (see Page, *S.a.A.* 286 ff.), while Pindar's paeans, too, were generally addressed to a city (Delos, Pytho, etc.). See Meyer, *Hymn. Stilel.*, 56 f.

For the land as addressee in *epibateria* and *syntaktika* see F. Cairns, *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry* (Edinburg 1972), 221.

Ἀπόλλωνος: placed immediately after Δῆλον, the name is programmatic: the part Apollo has to play in the Hymn is hardly inferior to that of Delos herself.

κουροτρόφον: 'nursing-mother', said of Ithaca in *Od.* 9, 27*, in other literature also of Artemis, Demeter, Ge, Hecate and others; see West, *Theog.* 264, 289; T. H. Price, *Kourotrophos*, Stud. Dutch Arch. Hist. Soc. 8 (1978), 189 ff. The preceding specification Ἀπόλλωνος prepares for the personification of Delos, coming out in full in l.6 λοῦσέ τε καὶ σπείρωσε; for Delos as Apollo's real wet-nurse cf. τιθήνης and 274 ὁ δὲ γλυκὺν ἔσπασε μαζόν.

ἦ μὲν ἅπασαι etc.: 'Oh certainly, all Cyclades are well worth a hymn, but Delos ...'. For ἦ μέν as a strong asseveration see Denn.², 389; it is answered by adversative δέ also in *Il.* 22, 233 f., cf. 239 ff., *Od.* 14, 281 ff.

For the expression 'all ... but one especially' cf. below, 55 ff. ἁπάσαις ... Λητοῖ δὲ διακριδόν, and the Homeric formulae *Od.* 1, 359 *al.* πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ' ἐμοί, cf. *Il.* 6, 493, *Od.* 14, 138, etc. The phrase presents a conventional hymnal apology of the type found in Pi. *N.* 10, 4 f., 18 f., Ba. 19, 1, Theoc. 17, 11 f. etc., in which the poet announces the necessity to limit the scope of his too comprehensive subject-matter, using it as a device to stress the outstanding quality of his subject proper. See Bundy, *art. cit.* 49, 59 ff.

3. Κύκλαδες: in literary texts always a rather vague term, cf. Hdt. 5, 30, E. *Ion* 1583 (where Owen notes that probably the islands of the Delian Confederacy are meant) and Theoc. 17, 90, where the name probably covers all Philadelphus' subject islands (see Gow's note). The latter is in accordance with the description of the Ptolemaic Empire in *OGIS* 54, 6 παραλαβὼς (*sc.* Euergetes) ... τὴν βασιλείαν Αἰγύπτου καὶ Λιβύης καὶ Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης ... καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων. See also W. W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* (Oxford 1913), 77.

αἳ νήσων ἱερώταται εἰν ἁλὶ κεῖνται: cf. *h.Ap.* 38* καὶ Χίος, ἣ νήσων λιπαρωτάτη εἰν ἁλὶ κεῖται, *Od.* 7, 244* Ὠγυγίη τις νῆσος ἀπόπροθεν εἰν ἁλὶ κεῖται, 9. 25* αὐτὴ δὲ (sc. Ithaca) χθαμαλὴ πανυπερτάτη εἰν ἁλὶ κεῖται.

ἱερώταται: according to Cahen (*Comm.* 156, cf. Capovilla, *Callimaco* I, Roma 1967, 267) the epithet is not purely ornamental, but indicates that the Cyclades partake in Delos' sacredness. This idea, however, is to be found neither in this hymn (not even in 300 f., where we find the image of the islands forming a choir around Delos) nor in other Greek poetry. Wilamowitz (*HD* II, 64) more rightly takes the qualification to refer to the Nesiotic League, prospering under the patronage of the Ptolemies since 287 B.C. See Will I, 79; I. L. Merker, "The Ptolemaic Officials and the League of the Islanders," *Historia* 19 (1970), 141 ff.

κεῖνται: for the present 3rd person plural, Homer only has κέαται (*Il.* 11, 659 *al.*) and κέονται (22, 510 *al.*), but he has κεῖντο for imperfect in 21, 426.

4. εὔυμνοι: applied to Apollo in *h.Ap.* 19 = 207 and in Call. *H.* 2, 31, where see Williams' note. That in *H.* 3, 31 the epithet is more appropriate, as v. d. Mühll, *MH* 15 (1958), 10, thinks, is not at all evident, and a most dubious argument for an earlier date of *Apollo* at that. On this kind of argument see Griffiths, *Maia* 29-30 (1977-78), 98.

δ' ἐθέλει: we should not understand 'Delos *is wont* to be sung first', since the priamel would be rather pointless, if Delos' primacy was a customary one. The interpretation 'Delos *wants to be* the first' is moreover in accordance with the personification of the island as introduced definitely in line 6.

4f. τὰ πρῶτα φέρεσθαι / ἐκ Μουσέων: the 'first things' Delos wants to carry off from the Muses' hands will not be prizes (ἄεθλα), as Pfeiffer suggests in his *Index Vocab.*, no contest being at stake. Reinsch-Werner, *Call. hes.* 322f., suggests that the phrase points to Callimachus' ambition to act as a competitor in a poetic agon with the poet of the Homeric hymn to Apollo. If that was Callimachus' intention in using the phrase, the audience certainly could not have noticed it at the moment, since nowhere do *Delos'* first four lines suggest any connexion with *h.Ap.* The immediate context plus the parallels of lines 283f., 291 and 298f. indicate that we should rather understand τὰ πρῶτα ⟨δῶρα⟩, as Cahen and Howald-Staiger do in their translations ("présents des Muses", "die Gabe der Musen"). In that case the phrase could be a reference to the hymn's being Callimachus' πρωτοφόρημα to Philadelphus as a member of the Museum: see *Introd.* ch. 2.1.8. E. L. Bundy, *CSCA* 5 (1972), 69, puts the phrase in the category of the conventional rhapsodic τίς πρῶτος theme, cf. *Il.* 5, 703; 8, 273; 11, 299; *Od.* 9, 14, etc. The theme, however, nowhere serves to stress the predominance of the subject first mentioned, as is the case here.

5. Μουσέων: in Homer and the Homeric hymns we find only Μουσάων, cf. *Il.* 1, 604, *h.Merc.* 430 (but Νυμφέων in *Od.* 12, 318); for Μουσέων cf. Hes. *Th.* 95 and fr. 26, 11, Archil. fr. 1, 2, etc. See Schwyzer I, 559; Chantr. I, 69. For the synizesis see West, *Theog.* 100. For ἐκ Μουσέων cf. Theoc. 7, 129 ἐκ Μοισᾶν ξεινήιον.

According to Reinsch-Werner, *Call. hes.* 230 and 323, the line pointedly echoes Hes. *Th.* 94f. Ἐκ γάρ τοι Μουσέων καὶ ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος / ἄνδρες ἀοιδοὶ ἔασιν. The echo, however, is weak, and at most of a pure verbal nature, the idea in Hesiod being rather different from that in *Delos* (see West *ad loc.*). It is rather arbitrary to suppose that this and other echoes of Hesiod in *Delos* are explicitly programmatic, pointing to Callimachus' new literary conception as exposed in the *Aetia* prologue and *ep.* 27 (Reinsch-Werner, 4ff. and *passim*): in a hymn written at the very start of Callimachus' career in the Alexandrian Museum these ideas need not have been (and in my

opinion were definitely not) already developed. See also below, 31 n. on the Telchines.

Φοῖβον: in Callimachus' hymns, Φοῖβος and 'Απόλλων act as alternatives, the combination of the two not being found. In Homer the two are always found together, with the exception of *Il.* 16, 788 (Φοῖβος alone). They are used separately also in Tragedy and lyric poetry; see Williams, *Apollo* 18.

ἀοιδάων: Mair translates "minstrels" here instead of "songs". This may be a mere lapse, though ἀοιδάων is perhaps the plural genitive of ἀοιδός in Xenophan. fr. 6, 4: see Schwyzer I, 559; Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 743. Here, however, nothing suggests that the poet means the masculine, and "songs" must be the right interpretation.

μεδέοντα: in Homer exclusively said of Zeus, and only in the vocative, cf. *Il.* 3, 276 Ἴδηθεν μεδέων, 16, 234 Δωδώνης μεδέων, later also of other gods and in other cases, cf. *h.Merc.* 2 Κυλλήνης μεδέοντα, Pi. fr. 95, 1 ὦ Πάν, 'Αρκαδίας μεδέων, *Syll.*³ 1044, 8, 36 Τελεμεσσοῦ μεδέων (*sc.* Apollo), and with non-geographic notions, cf. Ar. *Eq.* 560 δελφίνων μεδέων, E. *Hipp.* 167f. τόξων μεδέουσαν ... Ἄρτεμιν. See Keyssner, *Gottesvorst.*, 75; McLennan, *Zeus*, 122; E. Preuner, *Ath. Mitt.* 49 (1924), 31 ff. (on μεδέων / μεδέουσα in inscriptions).

6. λοῦσέ τε καὶ σπείρωσε: *Il.* 18, 350 λοῦσάν τε καὶ ἤλειψαν, *Od.* 3, 466 λοῦσέν τε καὶ ἔχρισεν. More such rhyming arrangements in Fehling, *Wiederholungsfig.* 258.

These activities characterize Delos further as a real nurse. In the Homeric hymn, the task of tending the new-born god was performed by the goddesses present, cf. 120 ff. θεαὶ λόον ὕδατι καλῷ / ... σπάρξαν δ' ἐν φάρεϊ λευκῷ; cf. also *h.Merc.* 268 σπάργανά τ' ἀμφ' ὤμοισιν ἔχειν καὶ θερμὰ λοετρά. (On the theme of bathing divine children see further H. Herter, *De Priapo* (Giessen 1932), 75; McLennan, *Zeus* 48.) In the only representation known of Delos personified, on a pyxis in the Archaeological Museum of Ferrara (see H. Gallet de Santerre, *BCH* 100 (1976), 293 ff.), the goddess bears no trait of a τιθήνη, but acts simply as an onlooker.

Reinsch-Werner's idea (*Call. hes.*, 324) that Call. makes a special point here because the lines of *h.Ap.* which refer to the bathing contain a direct quotation from Hesiod (*Op.* 337) is extremely far-fetched. See also above, 5 n.

In contrast to its use in early epic, the use of τε in Call. is restricted. As to epic τε, the ratio between its frequency in the Homeric Hymns and those of Callimachus is 3:1; see C. J. Ruijgh, *Autour de τε épique* (Amsterdam 1971), 967. Counting the instances of *connective* τε in *h.Ap.* and *Delos*, I found the same ratio.

A combination with τε καὶ ... καί is rather uncommon: cf. Theogn. 722, and, in a longer enumeration, *Il.* 24, 251.

For σπείρωσε cf. *H.* 1, 33* (with McLennan's note). The verb is attested earlier only in Hippocr. *Oss.* 15. The Homeric hymn has σπάρξαν in 1.121, which is unique, the verbs regularly employed being σπαργανόω/-άω/-ίζω (Hes. *Th.* 485, etc.).

ὡς θεόν: 'as a god', ὡς marking the predicate; a use not found in Homer, but occurring in Herodotus (cf. e.g. 3, 1, 2 ὡς γυναῖκα ἕξειν) and Attic prose (Xen. *Cyr.* 3, 2, 25, Pl. *Prot.* 315d, Dem. *Phil.* 1, 8, etc.).

ᾔνεσε: the short-vowel aorist of αἰνέω occurs in Herodotus, Pindar and Tragedy; in older poetry (Hom., Hes., Thgn., Sim.) only ᾔνησα is found. See Schwyzer, I, 753. Αἰνεῖν is translated here by the editors as 'accept' (Mair), 'praise' (Cahen), 'honour' (Howald-Staiger) or 'mark' (Wilamowitz, *Il. u. Hom.*, 458). It would be more prudent, perhaps, to render ᾔνεσε here by a neutral 'spoke to, addressed', which seems to be the basic meaning of the verb (cf. Chantr., *Dict. Ét.*, 35b); that someone is first addressed as a god of course implies recognition and esteem. It is curious that, in the description of the events after Apollo's birth in 264 ff., hardly a reference is made to these acts of Asteria: there she only picks up the child, but addresses the world around her and afterwards is mainly concerned with extolling herself.

On hearing the phrase 'Delos was the first to address Apollo as a god', the Alexandrian audience may have been reminded of the according of divine honours to Philadelphus by the Nesiotic League, of which Delos was the centre. For the date (*c.* 280 B.C.) see Fraser, *PA* I, 224; II, 53, 372 f.; Habicht, *Gottmenschentum*, 112 and 258 (*ad* 44 a).

πρώτη: forms of πρῶτος are never found at the end of the line in Homer or Hesiod (in view of its meaning, or accidentally?). The first 'infringement' of this 'rule' is found in Critias fr. 2, 10.

7 f. ὡς ... τώς: also in A. *Se.* 484; in reversed order in *Il.* 3, 415. Elsewhere we always find ὡς ... ὥς or ὡς ... οὕτως. For ὡς Μοῦσαι τὸν ἀοιδὸν ... ἔχθουσιν as a negative pendant of Hes. *Th.* 96 f. ὁ δ' ὄλβιος, ὅντινα Μοῦσαι / φίλωνται see Reinsch-Werner, *Call. hes.*, 324.

The comparison of Apollo and Delos with the Muses and Pimpleia is a surprising one (cf. Wilam., *Il.u.H.*, 458: "befremdliche Parallele"), hardly anything being known of Greek poems celebrating the Muses' birthplace. Plutarch (*Quaest. Conv.* 9, 1, 743 C) tells how, before entering into some discussion, the participants of the symposion poured out libations to the Muses and sang Hesiod's lines on their origin (*Th.* 53 ff.). It may be taken for granted that in Μουσεῖα like the one in Alexandria the singing of hymns to the Muses formed an obligatory part of some regular ritual: see P. Boyancé, *Le culte des Muses chez les philosophes grecs* (Paris 1936), 307; Fraser, *PA* I, 312 ff.; and above, *Introd.*, ch. 2.1.1.

7. τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὅ: for ἀοιδός with the article in Homer cf. *Od.* 3, 270. Here it

serves to stress the antecedent, cf. *Od.* 1, 351 f. τὴν ... ἀοιδὴν ..., ἥ τις, 6, 165 τὴν ὁδόν, ᾗ, etc. See A. Svensson, *Der Gebrauch des bestimmten Artikels i.d. nachklass. griech. Epik* (Lund 1937), 54.

As a relative, ὅ instead of ὅς is rather uncommon in Homer, cf. *Il.* 1, 388; 8, 283, *Od.* 1, 300, etc. It is highly exceptional in later poetry; see Gow on Theoc. 15, 86.

With τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὅ μὴ Πίμπλειαν ἀείσῃ, Bundy, *art. cit.* (4 f. n.) 45 f., 94, compares *H.* 2, 106 τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὅς οὐδ' ὅσα πόντος ἀείδει, A.R. 3, 392 ἀκλείης ὅδε μάντις, ὅς οὐδ' ὅσα παῖδες ἴσασιν, etc. Since no direct imitation here seems involved, the parallels only indicate that the arrangement of the line was apparently felt as formulaic in nature.

μή: for μή + subjunctive in a relative clause cf. *Od.* 4, 165 ≅ 23, 119 ᾧ μὴ ἄλλοι ἀοσσητῆρες ἔωσιν. For the use of μή when the reference is to a group the extent of which is unknown to the speaker see J. Th. M. F. Pieters, "De relatieve zin in het klassieke Grieks," *Lampas* 13 (1980), 106 ff.

Πίμπλειαν: a highly unusual name to denote Pieria, found also in Lycophr. 275 and Strabo 7, 18; 9, 2, 25; cf. 10, 3, 17; but the name may be older, since Epicharmus already mentions the Muses as daughters of Pieros and the nymph Pimpleis (fr. 41 Kaibel, cf. A.R. 1, 25, with Vian's note (p. 240), *A.P.* 5, 206 (Leon.)). Was Pieria perhaps a 'blacklist name', because of Seleuceia in Pieria, one of the most important harbours of the Seleucid Empire, with which Egyptian relations were far from friendly about 274 B.C.? See Will I, 125 ff.; A. Jähne, *Klio* 56 (1974), 506 ff.

ἀείσῃ: this is the reading of Schol. Lycophr. 275 (see Pfeiffer's *apparatus*), preferred by Pf. no doubt because, as a rule, in the MSS of Homer short vowel subjunctives are admitted only in the case when the metrical pattern of the short vowel form differs from that with a long vowel: see Chantr. I, 454. Exceptions, however, occur (e.g. δυσωρήσονται in *Il.* 10, 183); so in Call., too, ἀείσει needs not be impossible. See also below, lines 175 (on ῥώσωνται) and 234 (on ἐρείσει); McLennan, *Zeus* 87; Giangrande, *H* 98 (1970), 268.

8. ἔχθουσιν: in Homer and Hesiod only middle forms of the verb occur; the active is found in Tragedy (for this very ἔχθουσι cf. A. fr. 353) and perhaps in Theogn. 1032 (see Young's Teubner edition).

τώς: here, exceptionally, in thesis, cf. Hes. *Sc.* 478.

Φοῖβος: 5n.

ὅτις: less common than ὅστις, but not so exceptional as Cahen wants us to believe (*Call.* 461): cf. *Il.* 3, 279, *Od.* 1, 47, Theogn. 676, Hippon. fr. 43; 117, 6, etc.; see Chantr. I, 280; Schwyzer I, 617. Ὅτις varies ὅ of line 7, cf. ὅστις and ὅς in *H.* 2, 26 f., with Williams' note (and see below, 156 n.); but perhaps ὅτις also subtly stresses the close relationship between Delos and Apollo: 'How could any poet forget Delos, where Apollo was born?' For the ellipse of the antecedent cf. *H.* 2, 9 ἀλλ' ὅτις ἐσθλός, with Williams' note.

Δήλοιο λάθηται: cf. *Od.* 9, 102* νόστοιο λάθηται, *Il.* 10, 243* = *Od.* 1, 65* θείοιο λαθοίμην, *Il.* 12, 235* ἐριγδούποιο λάθεσθαι. The verb echoes the hymnal μνήσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι formula of the Homeric hymns (*h.Ap.* 1, *h.Cer.* 19, *h.* 17, 59), cf. Call. *H.* 3, 1 with Bornmann's note; Meyer, *Hymn. Stilel.*, 20; Bundy, *art. cit.* (4f. note), 75.

9. νῦν: on first sight this may answer τίνα χρόνον in l.1, but lines 2-6 have made sufficiently clear that the question there is rhetorical. It seems better in that case to relate νῦν to lines 7-8, and explain it as 'given the situation, therefore', cf. *Il.* 1, 382, *Od.* 4, 363, and the instances in Menander, Pindar and Plato cited by W. J. Verdenius, *Mnem.* 35 (1982), 32 and 144. In conformity with Tragic usage we could just as well read νυν, see Schwyzer II, 570f.

οἴμης: for οἴμη as *terminus technicus* for 'heroic song' cf. *Od.* 8, 74, 481; 22, 347: see *LfgrE*, col. 976; Chantr. *Dict. Ét.*, 783 b. For a more general application in Hellenistic poetry cf. also A.R. 4, 150, Lyc. 11, etc. (see *LSJ*).

ἀποδάσσομαι: *Il.* 17, 231*, 24, 595*, the last one being the only instance where the verb takes a dative and a genitive (elsewhere dative + accusative); see also Gow on Theoc. 17, 50.

In Homer, the verb is used of the allotment of legitimate portions, aptly transferred here to the poet's situation: 'So I will give to Delos the share of poetry that is due to her', referring to l. 4 ('Delos wants to get the first gift of the Muses').

ὡς ἂν 'Απόλλων: cf. *h.Cer.* 273* ὡς ἂν ἔπειτα (elsewhere ὡς ἄν is always found in the first part of the line; see *LfgrE*, col. 704). For a final clause starting after the bucolic caesura cf. *Il.* 1, 509 (ὄφρ' ἂν 'Αχαιοί), 24, 553, etc.; for 'Απόλλων in this *sedes* cf. *Il.* 1, 380; 16, 728, *Od.* 21, 364 (εἴκεν 'Απόλλων), etc.

The use of ἄν/κεν is very restricted in this hymn: see below, lines 25, 126 and 172.

10. Κύνθιος: this is Lascaris' restoration of the MSS readings καύριος, καύθιος or κάνθιος. How the corruption came about is difficult to see: though Call. is the first one we know of to apply the epithet to Apollo (cf. also fr. 67, 6 and 114, 8; from Antimachus? cf. fr. 12 Wyss), Κύνθ(ι)ος is common enough in relation to Delos, cf. *h.Ap.* 17, 26, 141, Pi. *pae.* 12, 8, fr. 60 b col. 2, 14, E. *IT* 1098, Ar. *Nub.* 596 f., Posidipp. p. 472, 10 GLP (Page), Limen. *pae. Ap.* 11, p. 149 Pow. (For Latin poetry cf. Verg. *G.* 3, 36, Hor. *C.* 1, 21, 1, etc.). In Delian inscriptions, only Ζεῦς Κύνθιος, not 'Απόλλων Κύνθιος is found; see P. Roussel, *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos* (Paris-Nancy 1915-6), 173, 201, 279f.; Cook, *Zeus*, III 2, 1172. The epithet thus seems to have only a geographical, no ritual, implication, cf. Bruneau, *Recherches*, 169.

Mention of 'Απόλλων Καρνεῖος, as was thought of here by C. Haeberlin

(*Philol.* 46 (1888), 69, reading Καρνεῖ') and C. Gallavotti (*Par. Pass.* 8 (1953), 467, reading Κάρνεος) is quite out of place in a hymn to Delos, which contains no further references to Callimachus' Cyrenean origin, as is the case in his hymn to Apollo (esp. l. 71 f.) On the other hand, the reference to Delos as implied in Κύνθιος is very apt in this line which presents Delos as Apollo's τιθήνη.

αἰνήσῃ: for the subjunctive with ὡς ἄν see Chantr. II, 270. In l. 6, the verb was used to denote the first recognition of the new-born Apollo by Delos. If this hymn is really Callimachus' 'maidenpoem' to thank Philadelphus for his admission to the Museum (see *Introd.*, ch. 2.1), l. 10 may be understood as an allusion to the recognition of the poet by Ptolemy.

φίλης ἀλέγοντα τιθήνης: ἀλέγειν generally takes the genitive only when accompanied by a negation, cf. *Od.* 9, 115, 275, A. *Su.* 752, etc. Without negation the accusative is normal, cf. *Od.* 6, 268 νηῶν ὅπλα ... ἀλέγουσι, Pi. *O.* 11, 15 Ζεφυρίων Λοκρῶν γενεὰν ἀλέγων, etc. According to Kuiper (113), Call. by using the genitive here should refer to *Il.* 9, 504 αἵ ῥά τε καὶ μετόπισθ' Ἄτης ἀλέγουσι κιοῦσαι, where ἀλέγουσι may be connected with Ἄτης. But the scholiast, whom Kuiper quotes as a witness for the existence of this interpretation in Antiquity (ἁμαρτόντες γὰρ καὶ βλαβέντες ὕστερον παρακαλοῦμεν, φροντίζομεν δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἄτης πεπραγμένων, etc.) rather favours the other (and solely reasonable) interpretation. 'Positive' ἀλέγειν with the genitive is perhaps a small innovation of Callimachus himself.

For φίλης ... τιθήνης cf. the formulaic φίλη τροφός in *Od.* 2, 361; 4, 742, etc. As appears from l. 6, the reference here is to Delos as a real nymph, whereas elsewhere in poetry the use of τίθηνη or τροφός as a characterization of some geographical notion is merely metaphorical, cf. Pi. *P.* 1, 20, S. *OR* 1088, E. *Ba.* 105; Kienzle, *o.c.* (11 n.), 51.

The end of the line is the statutory place for τιθήνη etc. in early epic, cf. *Il.* 6, 132, 389, 467, *h.Cer.* 227, 291, etc.

For the type of hyperbaton (adjective separated from its noun by a verb) cf. below, 37 βαθὺν ἤλαο τάφρον, 80 ὑπόχλοον ἔσχε παρειήν, etc.; it is quite common in poetry from Homer onward, cf. *Il.* 4, 99; 5, 549, etc. See J.-A. de Foucault, *RPh* 38 (1964), 59 ff.

11-26: 'Delos is a barren piece of land, fitting abode for shearwaters and fishermen; but when the islands gather with Oceanus and Tethys, she has the preference over Corsica, Euboea, Sardinia and Cyprus. For her guardian is Apollo, who is a far more effective protection than walls and towers.'

These lines contain a preliminary characterization of the hymn's subject, stressing again the special relationship between Delos and Apollo. The contrast between Delos' barrenness and her honourable position as a religious centre already figured in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, 54 ff. The passage

further makes the reader familiar with the idea that within the scope of the poem there is no essential difference between the nymph and the island. In fact, the consistent oscillation between the two is one of the most characteristic features of the hymn: see McKay, *Erys.* 174 ff.; Secci, 806; J. C. Arens, *De godenschildering in Ovidius' Metamorphosen* (diss. Nijmegen 1946), 28 ff.

It is remarkable that the description of Delos here is in conformity with some of the rules for the praise of a country or city in the *epibaterion* (see F. Cairns, *Generic Composition in Greek and Roman Poetry*, Edinburgh 1972, 212 f.). The following of Menander the Rhetor's prescriptions (c. 382 ff.) apply here:

(iii) A description of the city's physical features: lines 11-14.

(v) A description of the character of the inhabitants: seabirds and fishermen (12, 15).

(vii) A general comparison of the city with others: 16-23.

Element (ii), the praise of the founder of the city, could be recognised in the praise of Apollo in lines 24-27, while (iv), being the description of the city's development (ἀνατροφή), is elaborated in a certain sense only at the end of the poem (274 ff.).

11. κείνη δ': 'Well then, she ...'. For δέ marking the transition from the introduction to the tale proper see Denn.[2], 170 f., referring to Hdt. 1, 15 Ἄρδυος δὲ ... μνήμην ποιήσομαι. οὗτος δέ ..., etc. For κεῖνος referring to what has been mentioned shortly before see *LSJ s.v.* ἐκεῖνος; Schwyzer II, 209; and below, lines 23, 91 and 233.

McKay, *Erys.* 143 f., having developed the idea that in this hymn Call. intends to honour not so much Delos as Cos, remarks that "with the introduction of Kos κείνη becomes—with characteristic ambiguity—'the former'." But it is hardly likely that with the appearance of Cos in l. 160 the audience would recall the inconspicuous κείνη of l. 11, κεῖνος being used to refer to 'the latter' as well (cf. below, l. 233, where κείνη refers to κούρη, and not to the dog).

In the description that follows (11-15), the poet is listing the unfavourable characteristics of Delos (see McKay, *Erys.* 144), in contrast to her primacy within the ranks of the islands; cf. below, 268 f. : αὕτη ἐγὼ τοιήδε· (*sc.* Delos). δυσήροτος, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἐμεῖο / Δήλιος Ἀπόλλων κεκλήσεται. This idea should guide us in the interpretation of the partly obscure or corrupt epithets of l. 11.

ἠνεμόεσσα: common epithet of high or exposed places and mountains in Homer and other poetry, cf. *Il.* 3, 305 (Troy), *Od.* 3, 172 (Mimas), Pi. *O.* 4, 8 (Aetna), etc.; see Kienzle, *o.c.* (1 n.), 25; the feminine nom. sing. is found only in *h.Ap.* 43 Κάρπαθος ἠνεμόεσσα. For the application of the epithet to Delos cf. *h.Ap.* 28 λιγυπνοίοις ἀνέμοισιν.

ἄτροπος: a notorious stumbling-block (see McKay, *Erys.*, 144, with discussion). The word is explained by the Scholia as either 'uncultivated' (ἀγεώργητος) or 'unmoved, unshaken' (ἀκίνητος καὶ ἄσειστος). The first is well in accordance with the island's lack of fertility as described in *h.Ap.* 55 (οὐδὲ τρύγην οἴσεις, οὔτ' ἄρ φυτὰ μυρία φύσεις, cf. 60 ἐπεὶ οὔ τοι πῖαρ ὑπ' οὖδας), but, unlike Latin *vertere terram*, τρέπειν τὴν γῆν is not attested in Greek (cf. Wilam., *HD* II, 64 n. 2); γῆν στρέφειν is found, however, in Xen. *Oec.* 16, 15. Also the use of δυσήροτος in l. 268 is well in accordance with this interpretation, while another isolated word for 'unploughed', ἄφαρος, is found in fr. 287 (cf. Schmitt, *Nom.* 146, n. 72).

The usual meaning of ἄτροπος, 'inflexible, rigid', well matches the second interpretation of the Scholiast, referring to the fact that Delos was safeguarded against earthquakes in ancient times, cf. Hdt. 6, 98 Thuc. 2, 8, 3. This interpretation, favoured by Cahen ('immuable'), Mair ('stern') and Howald-Staiger ('Urland'), is open to two objections; (i) it is not exactly an unpleasant characteristic of the island, as we should expect for the sake of the contrast with l. 16 (ἀλλὰ ...), and so not in the same category as ἠνεμόεσσα and ἁλιπλήξ. (ii) The idea of fixedness is expressed already in the verb ἐνεστήρικται (l. 13). The notion 'unshaken' would go well with this verb, were it the only predicate; but in its position between two other adjectives of a very different nature the word is completely out of place. From the conjectures that have been proposed I cite ἄτροφος (Blomfield, supported by Barber, *CR* n.s. 4 (1954), 229 and Schmitt, *Nom.* 146 n. 72), and Meineke's ἄτρυγος, attractive because of *h.Ap.* 55 οὐδὲ τρύγην οἴσεις, cf. 529 τρυγηφόρος. The list can easily be enlarged, e.g. by ἄστροφος (cf. Xen. *Oec.* 16, 15 quoted above) or ἄβροχος (cf. *H.* 1, 19, same *sedes*). I feel more inclined, however, to keep the MSS text, with the interpretation 'unploughed' as most fitting in the context. It is quite possible, however, that the idea of 'fixedness' is running along underneath, since playing on a double meaning is part and parcel of Callimachus' style; cf. e.g. the use of μαστός in l. 48. See McLennan, *Zeus*, Index *s.v.* Ambiguity; A. H. Griffiths, *JHS* 90 (1970), 215.

†οἷά θ'†: in early epic, οἷά τε = 'such as', introducing a comparison (cf. *Od.* 7, 106 οἷά τε φύλλα μακεδνῆς αἰγείροιο) or, more frequently, specifying some category mentioned earlier, as in *Od.* 5, 421 f. κῆτος ... / ἐξ ἁλός, οἷά τε πολλὰ τρέφει κλυτὸς Ἀμφιτρίτη, cf. 8, 160; 11, 364, etc. In all these cases, οἷά τε introduces a clause, not a single word. Callimachus' use is clearly different. According to Ruijgh, *o.c.* (6 n.), *l.c.*, οἷά θ' here = ὥστε, with causal undertone, as in *Il.* 3, 381 ῥεῖα μάλ' ὥς τε θεός. Purely causal οἷά τε is found only after Homer, cf. Hdt. 2, 175, 5 τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα ... ἀναστενάξαι οἷά τε χρόνου ἐγγεγονότος, A.R. 3, 617 f., etc. If we accept this interpretation, οἷά θ' ἁλιπλήξ must be connected with the following line, since the phrase 'Delos is wind-swept and uncultivated *because* she is wave-beaten' hardly makes

sense. So Mair translates: 'and, wave-beaten as she is, is fitter haunt for gulls than course for horses'. In this case, however, the asyndeton ἄτροπος, οἷα is rather harsh, whereas the connection of lines 11 and 12 is far less problematic because of καὶ μᾶλλον (see below). With Pfeiffer, I therefore think that the text is corrupt. An obvious emendation is αἰά θ' ἁλιπλήξ, which has the advantage of presenting a connective instead of an epic τε. For αἶα used of an island cf. S. fr. 234 N. ἐναλία Εὐβοιὶς αἶα; an interesting further parallel is Pi. *P.* 4, 14, where τᾶσδ' ἐξ ἁλιπλάκτου ποτὲ γᾶς refers to the island of Thera. (Pindars Fourth Pythian because of its Battos-myth will have been a special favourite of Call.; see also below on l. 48 μαστόν.) For the word-order (substantive placed with the last adjective of a series) cf. Pl. *Ti.* 75b σαρκώδη καὶ νευρώδη κρατεράν τε κεφαλήν; for τε introducing the last item of a series see Denn.[2], 500.

ἁλιπλήξ: not found before Call.; variant of ἁλίπλακτος (S. *Ai.* 597, Pi. *P.* 4, 14), cf. κυματοπλήξ in S. *OC* 1241 and ἁλίκτυπος in E. *Hipp.* 754 (with Barrett's note). Compounds with -πλήξ are generally passive in meaning, e.g. παραπλήξ 'stricken sideways' (*Od.* 5, 418), ἀντιπλήξ 'beaten in turn' (S. *Ant.* 591); see Chantr., *Dict. Ét.*, col. 917A. It is unlikely that ἁλιπλήξ is substantival here, as Schneider (pp. 255 f.) suggests; the two other Callimachean compounds with -πλήξ (ἠλιο- and μεθυ-, cf. Schmitt, *Nom.*, 140) are adjectives, and in the only instance in Homer of a substantival compound, viz. βουπλήξ (*Il.* 6, 135), the sense is active ('ox-goad'). For the (rather obvious) characterization of Delos by way of this epithet cf. *h.Ap.* 27 Δήλῳ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ and 181 Δήλοιο περικλύστου.

12. αἰθυίῃς: cf. *Od.* 5, 337* and 353* αἰθυίῃ. If Call. intended the same bird as Homer, we should translate 'shearwater', not 'gull' as Mair does, see D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford-London 1936), 27 ff.; *LfrgE*, col. 302; but biological detail is not the poet's main concern here, of course.

The ending -ῃς is found only some twelve times in Homer, mostly with adjectives and at the end of the line, see Chantr. I, 202. For the occurrence in this *sedes* cf. *Il.* 12, 297 and 14, 180 χρυσείῃς, *Od.* 11, 242 ἐν προχοῇς, Hes. *Th.* 827 θεσπεσίῃς, etc. (For Apollonius see the list of F. Vian, *REA* 72 (1970), 87 note 2.) Pfeiffer's suggestion (*Proleg.*, LXXXIX) that perhaps we should read αἰθυίῃσι τε therefore is unnecessary; it is also less probable from a metrical point of view, since it implies an infringement of Giseke's rule (but cf. l. 144 θερμάστραι τε).

καὶ μᾶλλον: καί is not postpositive here as Pfeiffer suggests (*l.c.*; cf. Barber, *CR* 4, 1958, 229), but καὶ μᾶλλον = πολὺ μᾶλλον, as often in Homer, cf. *Il.* 8, 470; 19, 200, *Od.* 2, 334, and especially—also for the possible asyndeton—*Od.* 4, 606 quoted below; cf. Wilam., *Il.u.H.*, 459 n. 1; Denn.[2], 319.

Postpositive καί would imply a stop at position 4, too, which is against Giseke's rule.

ἐπίδρομος ἠέπερ ἵπποις: that islands were considered unfit for horse-riding appears from the well-known statement of Telemachus concerning Ithaca, *Od.* 4, 605ff. ἐν δ' Ἰθάκῃ οὔτ' ἄρ δρόμοι εὐρέες οὔτε τι λείμων· / αἰγίβοτος, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπήρατος ἱπποβότοιο. / οὐ γάρ τις νήσων ἱππήλατος οὐδ' εὐλείμων, / αἵ θ' ἁλὶ κεκλίαται, lines on which Call. clearly draws here; cf. also Pi. *pae.* 4, 27 ἄνιππός εἰμι, of Ceos. For the contrast sea-creatures/horses, cf. also Pi. *P.* 4, 17ff. ἀντὶ δελφίνων δ' ἐλαχυπτερύγων ἵππους ἀμείψαντες θοάς. Delos was not always completely ἄνιππος, though, since the Athenians introduced ἱπποδρομίαι on the island (cf. Thuc. 3, 104; Bruneau, *Recherches*, 67). Ἐπίδρομος is a Homeric *unicum* in *Il.* 6, 434, said of a wall ('that may be overrun, scaled', *LSJ*); here it naturally explains itself as 'practicable', as also in other Hellenistic poetry; see Schmitt, *Nom.*, 144 n. 28; W. Bühler, *Die Europa des Moschos* (Wiesbaden 1960), 181. Cf. also the Homeric compound περίδρομος 'that can be run around' (*Il.* 2, 812, *Od.* 14, 7). For ἠέπερ ἵπποις cf. *Il.* 1, 260* ἠέπερ ἡμῖν, 16, 688* ἠέπερ ἀνδρός, etc.

13. πόντῳ ἐνεστήρικται: a fine, slightly paradoxical, variation of *Il.* 21, 168* γαίῃ ἐνεστήρικτο, said of a spear; cf., however, *h.Merc.* 11 οὐράνῳ ἐστήρικτο and Hes. *Th.* 779 πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται, which makes Callimachus' variation appear less original. For ἐστήρικται in further Hellenistic literature see Williams, *Apollo*, 34. On the fixing of Delos see below, 53f.

ὁ δ' etc.: 'Rolling around her mightily, he wipes off himself plenty of foam from the Icarian Sea.' For the amplification cf. *h.Ap.* 27f. ἑκάτερθε δὲ κῦμα κελαινὸν / ἐξῄει χέρσον δὲ λιγυπνοίοις ἀνέμοισιν, see Bethe, *SBLeipz.* 83 (1931), II, 17.

ἀμφί ἑ: also in *Il.* 4, 497 (= 15, 574); 15, 241 and *h.Cer.* 373, but always with the reflexive pronoun (ἕ). For ἑ = αὐτήν cf. *Od.* 4, 355; 5, 353, etc. Note the variation of the pronouns referring to Delos here: 11 κείνη, 13 ἑ, 15 σφε, 16 οἱ. For ἀμφί said of waves moving around an object cf. *Il.* 4, 425; 21, 240, Hes. *Th.* 848, etc.; see *LfgrE*, col. 664.

πουλυς: in Homer, the lengthened form of πολύς is found some 9 times, nearly always in this *sedes*, cf. e.g. *Il.* 5, 776, *Od.* 8, 109 (cf. West on Hes. *Th.* 190). Going with ἑλίσσων, it may just as well here indicate intensity ('with great might'; cf. Cahen's "ses flots pressés") as frequency (cf. Howald-Staiger's "Woge auf Woge"). For the predicative use cf. *Il.* 7, 156 πολλὸς γάρ τις ἔκειτο (see also Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 1f.).

For the repetition πουλυς-πολλήν (l. 14) there seems to be no example in epic, though 'jingles' of this kind are a common feature of Homeric style; cf. *Il.* 13, 130 δόρυ δουρί, *Od.* 19, 409 ὄνομ' ... ἐπώνυμον, etc.; see A. Shewan, *CP* 20 (1925), 202f. In Tragedy, however, instances are numerous,

e.g. A. *Ag.* 640 πολλοὺς δὲ πολλῶν, *Pe.* 748, E. *Md.* 579, *Hi.* 252, cf. also Pi. *N.* 8. 20; more in Fehling, *Wiederholungsfig.*, 230. For other instances in Call. see Williams, *Apollo*, 41.

ἑλίσσων: ἑλίσσω is generally transitive, but seemingly intransitive in *Il.* 23, 309 and 466 (*sc.* τοὺς ἵππους), cf. also E. *Or.* 1293, *Ph.* 234f. (but *vide app. crit.*). It seems wrong to take ἄχνην as the object of ἑλίσσων as well, as Cahen does (*Comm.*, 158): the sea does not wipe the foam off herself by turning it around. — For ἑλίσσω said of the sea cf. especially E. *Hyps.* I, 2, 26ff. (41ff. Page) Λήμνου τὰν Αἰγαῖος ἑλίσσων κυμόκτυπος ἀχεῖ, and also A. *Pr.* 138, E. *IT* 7, Pi. *N.* 6, 55, etc.

14. Ἰκαρίου ... ὕδατος: cf. *Il.* 2, 145 πόντου Ἰκαρίοιο, S. *Ai.* 702f. Ἰκαρίων δ' ὑπὲρ πελαγέων μολὼν ἄναξ Ἀπόλλων ὁ Δάλιος. According to Strabo (1, 477; 5, 173; 6, 221), the Icarian Sea stretches along the coast of Asia Minor, between Samos and Cos. Like Sophocles quoted above, Call. apparently uses the term in a wider sense; cf. also the use of Κύκλαδες, 3 n. — For the word-order of the verse ('golden hexameter') see McLennan, *Zeus*, 97. For the genitive ὕδατος see below.

πολλήν: 13 n. (πολύς); Ruhnken's πολιήν is certainly unnecessary, in spite of Q.S. 9, 441 πολιὸς ἀφρός. That Mosch. 2, 95f. has ἀφρόν/πολλόν, of foam on the bull's mouth, is no support for the MSS text of Call., of course, *pace* Schneider, 257.

ἀπομάσσεται ὕδατος ἄχνην: cf. *Il.* 4, 426 ἀποπτύει δ' (*sc.* κῦμα θαλάσσης) ἁλὸς ἄχνην (varied also in A.R. 2, 570 ἀνέπτυε κύματος ἄχνη) and *Od.* 5, 403 εἴλυτο δὲ πάνθ' ἁλὸς ἄχνῃ. The genitive is best taken to be possessive: the sea wipes the Icarian water's foam off herself and puts it ashore on Delos. See Wilam., *HD* II, 64, n. 2; Cahen, *Budé*, 260; Capovilla, *Callimaco*, I (Roma 1967), 267. The translation of Howald-Staiger ("und reichlichen Schaum von Fluten des Ikaros abstreift"), in which the genitive is taken to be separative, and the middle as having the same force as the active (cf. Bornmann, *Dian.*, XXXIX), is far less likely; the word-order Ἰκαρίου πολλήν, corresponding to ὕδατος ἄχνην, primarily suggests a nominal dependence.

Ἀπομάσσω is found first in Aristophanes (*Eq.* 819), but does not belong to comic style for that, since it is rather common in prose from Plato (*Ti.* 50 e) onward too; see Chantr., *Dict. Ét.*, 670A. Ἀναμάσσω is a Homeric *unicum* (*Od.* 19, 92); ἐπιμάσσεται in *Il.* 4, 190* is from ἐπιμαίομαι.

15. τῷ: on the orthography (τώ or τῷ) see McLennan, *Zeus*, 94.

σφε: Zenodotus possibly took σφε for an accusative singular in *Il.* 11, 111 (see Leaf's note), the use elsewhere being not epic, but Tragic. See Bornmann, *Dian.*, 94; Schwyzer I, 607; H. Erbse, *H* 81 (1953), 165f. (mainly on Ap. Rh.). Enclitic personal pronouns regularly occupy the second place in the line in

epic poetry, even when this involves a splitting-up of two words belonging together; see Wackernagel, *Kleine Schriften* I (Göttingen 1953), 10ff.

καί: the island is a natural abode not only for shearwaters, but for fishermen *as well.* For a characterization of the raw life of seafarers in general cf. *Vit. Hdt.* 262 (O.C.T., p. 204) ναῦται ποντοπόροι, στυγέρῃ ἐναλίγκιοι ἄτῃ / πτωκάσι αἰθυίῃσι, βίον δύσζηλον ἔχοντες.

ἰχθυβολῆες ἁλίπλοοι: natural word-order suggests that the first element is substantival, as it is also in Nic. *Th.* 793 and *A.P.* 7, 504 (Leon.), cf. Hes. *fr. spur.* 372. Ἁλίπλοος is an adjective in *Il.* 12, 26 (*hapax*) but a substantive in line 52 below. — For the Delians as 'seafaring fishermen' cf. Herond. 3, 51 οἷα Δήλιος κυρτεύς / ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ τὠμβλὺ τῆς ζοῆς τριβών, D.L. 8, 5 Δήλιον ἁλιέα, cf. 2, 22; 9, 12; Suid. *s.v.* Δηλίου κολυμβητοῦ.

ἐννάσσαντο: also in fr. 75, 60 and A.R. 4, 1213. Homer has ἀπενάσσατο twice (*Il.* 2, 629, *Od.* 15, 254, cf. Hes. *Op.* 639), but ἐνναίω is found first in Sophocles (*OC* 788, etc.).

The construction of ἐνναίομαι + accusative is highly unusual; one could compare ἐγκατατίθεσθαι + acc. in Hesiod (see West, *Theog.*, 84) and ἐμπίπτω + acc. in Tragedy (see *LSJ*); cf. Schwyzer, II, 455. Yet I wonder whether ἐννάσσαντο could not be meant to be = ἐνάσσαντο, cf. *Il.* 21, 11, where ἔννεον has been explained as the imperfect of νέω, whereas others derive it from ἐννέω. With the lambda, gemination is quite common, cf. below, line 97 ἔλλαχες, fr. 77 ἔλλιπε, etc. See Chantr. I, 176; Schwyzer I, 654.

Cahen here notes (*Call.* 455) that Callimachus' use of the aorist with a verb expressing continuous action is a questionable extension of normal practice. Whatever may be true of the traditional opinion on the aspect of the aorist, the use here at least adheres to epic convention, cf. Hes. *Op.* 639 νάσσατο δ' ἄγχ' Ἑλικῶνος, Philit. fr. 24 Pow. νάσσατο δ' ἐν προχοῇσι μελαμπέτροιο Βυρίνης.

For the spondaic ending of the line see *Introd.*, ch. 4.1.3. The variation technique signalized by McLennan, *Zeus*, 32 (words which form a spondaic ending to the hexameter in Call. are found only *within* the verse in Homer) is not found in this hymn.

16. ἀλλά οἱ οὐ: *Il.* 6, 16*, cf. ἀλλά οἱ 16, 331, *Od.* 4, 667, etc.

οὐ νεμεσητὸν ... λέγεσθαι: 'she is not raising indignation for her being named among...'. Cf. *Il.* 9, 523 = *Od.* 22, 59 οὔ τι νεμεσσητὸν ... κεχολῶσθαι, 19, 182f. οὔ τι νεμεσσητὸν ... ἀπαρέσσασθαι. In Homer, the form with double sigma occurs seven times, with a single one only in *Il.* 11, 649*, this being the usual form also in later poetry, cf. Tyrt. fr. 10, 26, S. *Ph.* 1193f., Pl. *Euthd.* 282b, [Mosch.] *Megara* 80 (but cf. Theoc. *Id.* 1, 101).

On the negative mode of expression followed by ἀλλά or δέ (*antithesis negativa*) cf. lines 35f., 39f., 53, 148, etc.; it is frequent also in other works of Call. See E. Diehl, *Latv. Univ. Raksti*, fil. fak. ser. 14 (1926), 4ff.; Lapp, 96f.

ἐνὶ πρώτῃσι λέγεσθαι: cf. Theoc. 17, 3* ἐνὶ πρώτοισι λεγέσθω and, for the sound, *Il.* 9, 709* ἐνὶ πρώτοισι μάχεσθαι (cf. 12, 324*); for πρώτῃσι in this *sedes* cf. *Il.* 18, 579, *Od.* 1, 255, etc.

Homer has λέγειν ἐν (*Od.* 4, 452), but λέγεσθαι μετά (*Il.* 3, 188, *Od.* 9, 335); λέγεσθαι ἐν occurs in E. *Alc.* 322 and Xen. *Oec.* 11, 20.

For πρῶτοι = ἄριστοι cf. *Od.* 6, 60 μετὰ πρώτοισιν ἐόντα, 8, 180f. ἐν πρώτοισιν ὀίω / ἔμμεναι. Who are intended by πρώτῃσι only becomes clear at l. 18 (νῆσοι); this is a common Callimachean device, cf. e.g. 172ff. οἱ μὲν ... ὀψίγονοι Τιτῆνες. See Lapp, 36.

17f. ὁππότ' ἐς Ὠκεανὸν ... ἀολλίζονται: that nymphs took part in the gatherings of the gods on Mt. Olympus appears from *Il.* 20, 8, but we do not know from other literary sources about regular visits of the island-goddesses to Oceanus and Tethys. In Ar. *Nub.* 271, nymphs appear to be present at the dances of the Clouds in Oceanus' gardens (εἴτ' Ὠκεανοῦ πάτροις ἐν κήποις ἱερὸν χορὸν ἵστατε νύμφαις), and the eponymous goddesses of the islands *are* nymphs, as appears from Hes. *Th.* 346ff. (note the names of Doris, Europa and Asia in 350ff.; for Dodona as an Oceanid see Call. fr. 53). But there is no indication at all that in Aristophanes a gathering of *island*-nymphs should be meant. Another possible source for the island procession could have been Aristophanes' (?) lost comedy Νῆσοι (cf. Schol. Ar. *Av.* 296), in which island-nymphs will have formed the choir: see F. Matz, *Die Naturpersonifikationen in der griechischen Kunst* (Göttingen 1913), 69. Of probably earlier date (450-425 B.C.) is an intriguing picture on a red-figured cup from the former Czartoryski-collection, on which Tethys is represented dancing with maenads, two of which bear the names of Delos and Euboea: see Ch. Fränkel, *Satyr- und Bakchennamen auf Vasenbildern* (Halle 1912), 55. J. D. Beazly, *Greek Vases in Poland* (Oxford 1928), 62f., supposes that the dance of the islands had been described in some earlier poem now lost to us; I suggest that the ultimate source could have been the work of Pherecydes, who apparently wrote about the gardens of the Hesperides: see Barrett on E. *Hipp.* 742ff.; Bornmann on *H.* 3, 164f. That Call. knew Pherecydes' work well may appear from the use of ἑπτάμυχος in l. 65.

With Wilamowitz, *Il.u.Hom.*, 458, cf. *HD* II, 65, and G. Perrotta, *SIFC* n.s. 4 (1925-27), 44, the whole scene may be taken as a pendant to the beginning of the Homeric hymn to Apollo: in both, the deities in question are received and honoured in the presence of their parents. In atmosphere, however, the description of Apollo's impressive, almost horrifying appearance in the abode of the gods is very different from that of the quiet procession in which Delos takes so prominent a part in Callimachus' poem.

The allegorical interpretation of the passage by scholars like Couat and Ehrlich, who identified Oceanus and Tethys with Philadelphus and Arsinoe, is

now rightly abandoned: see Herter, *RE* Suppl. V, col. 437; Wilam., *HD* II, 65. The identification of Philadelphus with Oceanus is quite incompatible with the obvious parallel Philadelphus ~ Apollo in the Hymn.

17. ὁππότ' ... ἀολλίζονται: in Homer, the indicative after ὅτε, ὁπότε, etc. is generally found when a single fact is referred to; see Chantr., II, 255. Exceptions occur in *Il.* 11, 492 ὡς δ' ὁπότε πλήθων ποταμὸς πεδίονδε κάτεισι, and 10, 83 νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην, ὅτε θ' εὕδουσι βροτοὶ ἄλλοι, cf. *h.Cer.* 401 f. ὁππότε δ' ἄνθεσι γαῖ' ... / ... θάλλει.

That ὁππότ' ἐς Ὠκεανόν is an instance of *oppositio in imitando*, as Giangrande, *CQ* 17 (1967), 85, observes (cf. *h.Ap.* 459 ὁππόταν ἐκ πόντοιο), seems rather far-fetched.

ἐς: Call. adheres to the Homeric rule that ἐς may be used before vowels and consonants alike, but εἰς only before a vowel: cf. ἐς here and in 1.47, εἰς in lines 143, 195, 204 and 289. The use of εἰς with a proper name is Homeric too: see Chantr. II, 103 f.

For the repetition cf. *Il.* 16, 574 ἐς Πηλῆ' ἱκέτευσε καὶ ἐς Θέτιν ἀργυρόπεζαν, *Od.* 2, 214 εἶμι γὰρ ἐς Σπάρτην τε καὶ ἐς Πύλον ἠμαθόεντα, etc.: see Fehling, *Wiederholungsfig.*, 196 f. For ἐς Ὠκεανόν vf. *Il.* 1, 423*.

Τιτηνίδα Τηθύν: for the parentage of Oceanus and Tethys see Hes. *Th.* 132 ff. (cf. 368), where they appear among the Titans. The patronymic is not found there, but is of Tragic origin, cf. A. *Eu.* 6 f. Τιτανὶς ... Φοίβη, E. *Hl.* 382 Τιτανίδα κούραν; cf. also Lycophr. 231 γραῖαν ξύνευνον Ὠγένου Τιτηνίδα. The alliteration will be a coincidence, without any expressive value, as in 1.88 Θήβη, τίπτε, τάλαινα.

18. ἀολλίζονται: apart from the Iliad, where only the aorist is found (four times), the verb hardly occurs elsewhere. Bacchyl. 15, 42 uses an imperfect, ἀόλλιζον.

ἀεί: the form recurs in 1.26. It is very rare in early epic as well as in lyric poetry (see Fatouros' *Index verb. z. frühgr. Lyrik*, *s.v.*), viz. some 2% of all cases (cf. *LfgrE*, cols. 280 ff.). The most common epic form, αἰεί (some 67%), occurs in lines 114 and 303, αἰέν (31%) in 231 and 278. A distinct Callimachean preference for uncommon epic forms cannot be concluded from these figures.

ἔξαρχος ὁδεύει: a combination of two Homeric *unica*. The first one is *terminus technicus* for the leader of a choir, a thiasos, etc., cf. *Il.* 24, 721, E. *Ba.* 141, and often in prose, see *LSJ*. Ὁδεύειν too, is mainly a prose-word; in Homer it is found only in *Il.* 11, 569*.

19 f. In Antiquity, a 'standard list' of the seven large islands in the Mediterranean appears to have been in existence, cf. Alexis fr. 268 Edm., [Arist.] *De Mundo* 393 a, 12 ff., Strab. 14, 2, 10. Since our hymn only makes mention

of Corsica, Euboea, Sardinia and Cyprus, commentators have taken great pains to explain the absence of Crete, Lesbos and Sicily in it. Meineke, the first to raise the question, adopted a lacuna of one or two lines, a solution not confirmed by the papyri. Schneider states that the poet simply mentioned two western and two eastern islands, which does not seem to be a very poetic consideration. According to Wilamowitz, *HD* II, 65, Crete was wisely omitted because it was Zeus' island, and Sicily "as being for the Greeks above the rank of an island as Australia is to us". But Crete is in some respect criticized by Asteria in l. 272 of our hymn, and if Sicily was not considered an island by the Greeks it would not appear in the island list. Moreover, in the third hymn the island parades alongside Sardinia (lines 57 f.). Br. Ehrlich, *Bresl. phil. Abh.* 7 (1894), 30 ff., saw a political motive in the omission of Crete, since the Spartans should not be insulted, while Sicily was to be respected as the country of Hiero II. However, for a poem to be recited no doubt primarily or exclusively in the intimate circle of the members of the Museum, political considerations of this kind can hardly have played a role in the poet's mind.

Callimachus' choice is no doubt of a purely poetic nature. His aim is to put forward the preeminent position of Delos among the islands, just as in lines 271 f. Asteria declares that Apollo will love her more than Poseidon loves Corinth, or Hermes Cyllene, or even Zeus Crete: there, too, the choice of names, apart from the last, is quite arbitrary. To illustrate the contrast here, the poet adapts the traditional device of the 'Catalogue' (cf. Reinsch-Werner, *Call. hes.*, 169, 234), choosing some islands that are impressive by their extent (Μάκρις), attractiveness (οὐκ ὀνοτή, ἱμερόεσσα) or the importance of their protective goddess (Κύπρις). In writing these lines, the idea of a 'seven large islands list' will probably not have been present in the poet's mind at all. See further Perrotta, *art. cit.* (17 f. note), 56; Cahen, *Comm.*, 159.

19. ἡ δ' ... Φοίνισσα ... Κύρνος: for the double *traiectio* cf. fr. 554 τὸν ... παλαιστρίταν ... θεόν, *H.* 3, 77 f. τὸ δ' ... μεσσάτιον ... μέρος, etc.; see Lapp, 36. With the article and the substantive only, *traiectio* is a far more common epic phenomenon, cf. *Il.* 1, 348 ἡ δ' ... γυνή. See Chantr. II, 161.

Φοίνισσα occurs in Homer once (*Od.* 15, 417 γυνὴ Φοίνισσ'), and afterwards in Tragedy, Lyric poetry, etc.; cf. e.g. E. *Pho.* 204 Φοινίσσας ἀπὸ νάσου (of Tyre). The epithet is not very appropriate to Corsica, since the influence of the Carthaginians on the island was never of much importance; see *CAH* VII, 769 f.; *KlP.* I, 1324 f. Just as in his 'Collection of Marvels' Call. here perhaps draws on Lycus and/or Timaeus, who shortly before Call. wrote on the geography of the Western Mediterranean; see Fraser, *PA* I, 771; II, 1079 ff. The name of Κύρνος will have been taken from Hdt. 1, 165 f.

ἡ δ' ὄπιθεν: cf. *Il.* 13, 721* οἱ δ' ὄπιθεν, *h.Merc.* 78* τὰς δ' ὄπιθεν.

ὄπιθεν ... μετ' ἴχνια ... ὀπηδεῖ: a slightly pleonastic new arrangement

based on Homeric material. Homer has ὄπισθε with ἕπεσθαι in *Il.* 21, 256 (cf. A. *Pe.* 1001, Hdt. 1, 45, and below, line 109), with διώκειν in 22, 157; ἴχνια and μετόπισθε occur together in 13, 71, and for μετ' ἴχνια with a verb of movement see *Od.* 2, 406 μετ' ἴχνια βαῖνε θεοῖο (cf. *Il.* 18, 321). In the combination ὄπιθεν ... ὀπηδεῖ a sound effect may be aimed at.

In Homer and the Hymns, ἴχνια is the only form of the word in use (Hesiod and Tragedy have ἴχνος, etc.). Ὀπηδεῖ, too, is a true epicism, the only forms found being ὀπηδεῖ(ν) and ὀπήδει, always at the end of the line (*Il.* 5, 216*, *h.Ap.* 530*, Hes. *Th.* 80*, etc.). The verb generally occurs with the dative with or without ἅμα. Here the complement can be easily supplied from the context, as also in *Il.* 17, 251, Hes. *Op.* 326 and *h.Hom.* 30, 12.

20. οὐκ ὀνοτή: Homer has ὀνοστός once (*Il.* 9, 164 δῶρα ... οὐκέτ' ὀνοστά). The form without σ occurs in Pindar (*I.* 3, 68), but is probably older, as the existence of the verb ὀνοτάζειν (*h.Merc.* 30, Hes. *Op.* 258) suggests; see Chantr., *Dict. Ét.*, 804b.

For the litotes cf. 1.87 οὐκ ἀτέλεστον, 167 οὐκ ἀέκουσα, 273 οὐκέτι πλαγκτή, 295 ἀκλέες οὔποτ' (dub.); see Diehl, *art. cit.* (16n.), 10; Lapp, 34 (not noting this case). In Homer, litotes with verbs like ὄθομαι and ὄνομαι is common; see F. P. Donnelly, *CW* 23 (1930), 140.

Μάκρις Ἀβαντιὰς Ἑλλοπιήων: a sophisticated circumscription for Euboea, as in 1.160 ὠγυγίην ... Κόων Μεροπηΐδα νῆσον for Cos, cf. A.R. 4, 769 Ἀλκινόου Φαιηκίδα νῆσον, 1780 Ὀπούντιά τ' ἄστεα Λοκρῶν. The origin of these expressions may be considered to be Homeric combinations like Πύλον Νηλήιον (*Od.* 4, 639, see Chantr., II, 14), extended in Tragedy, e.g. A. *Pr.* 793 Γοργόνεια πεδία Κισθήνης. In using the circumstantial expression here, Call. hardly can have had the aim to create an "atmosfera di mito remoto", as E. Secci thinks (*RIL* 91, 1957, 806), since this is inconsistent with the present tenses of ἀολλίζονται, ὁδεύει and ὀπηδεῖ. The dignified names no doubt serve to stress the importance of Delos, which excels above even these illustrious islands.

Μάκρις is not found in any text before Call., but Ar. *Nub.* 211 f. (Ἡ δέ γ' Εὔβοι', ὡς ὁρᾷς, / ἡδὶ παρατέταται μακρὰ πόρρω πάνυ) faintly suggests its existence before, probably in local Euboean Epic or history, for whose use by Callimachus see Jacoby, *FGH* III B, 245. After Call., the name occurs in Strabo (10, 1, 3 οὐ μόνον δὲ Μάκρις ἐκλήθη ἡ νῆσος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀβαντίς, from Apollodorus), Dion. Per. 520, *Et. Magn.* *s.v.* Εὔβοια and Hesychius; cf. also A.R. 1, 1023 f. ἀνδρῶν / Μακριέων.

Ἀβαντιάς may be a Callimachean variant of Ἀβαντίς (Hes. fr. 296), on analogy of Homeric Ἀχαιιάς ~ Ἀχαιίς (on the suffix see Schwyzer, I, 508 f.; Schmitt, *Nom.* 73, 79). Homer already mentions Ἄβαντες as inhabitants of Euboea, *Il.* 2, 536 ff. and 4, 464, cf. Hes. fr. 204, 53 and 244, 7: see *LfgrE*, 13 f.

The appellative Ἑλλοπιεύς, too, is not attested elsewhere, but Ἑλλοπίη is mentioned in Hdt. 8, 23 as the northern district of Euboea, while according to Philochorus 328 *FGH* 225, Ἑλλοπία is synonymous with Euboea as a whole (cf. also *Suppl. Hell.* fr. 432, 5 ff.). For Callimachus' scanty use of the generally productive -εύς suffix see Schmitt, *Nom.*, 51 ff., esp. 56. For a possible etymology of the name ("Sturgeonland"?) see Capovilla, *Helicon* 8 (1968), 82.

21. Σαρδώ θ' ἱμερόεσσα: cf. Hes. fr. 291, 3* Φαιώ θ' ἱμερόεσσα, *h.Merc.* 231* = *h.Cer.* 277* ὀδμὴ δ' ἱμερόεσσα. In early epic, the epithet usually characterizes non-geographic notions, but it is used with πόλιν in *h.Ap.* 180 and Hes. fr. 43a; cf. also *Il.* 2, 751, where the cognate ἱμερτός is said of a river. — For Sardinia in older literature see e.g. Hdt. 1, 170, Ar. *Ve.* 700, Timaeus 566 *FGH* 63 ("verlockende Schilderung", Wilamowitz, *Il.u.Hom.*, 458 n. 2). Display of learning apparently was not a primary aim of Callimachus here, for otherwise he could have chosen instead of Σαρδώ names such as Σανδαλιῶτις (Timaeus, *l.c.*) or Ἰχνοῦσα (Myrsilus 477 *FGH* 11).

καὶ ἣν ἐπενήξατο Κύπρις: for Cyprus, again, Call. uses a poetic paraphrase, based on the celebrated tale in Hes. *Th.* 192 ff. The ellipse of the antecedent (νῆσον) in itself is not uncommon in Homer, too, cf. *Il.* 24, 202 ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ξείνους ἠδ' οἷσιν ἀνάσσεις, *Od.* 11, 434 θηλυτέρῃσι γυναιξὶ καὶ ἥ κ' εὐεργὸς ἔῃσιν. See Schwyzer II, 640; P. Monteil, *La phrase relative en grec ancien* (Paris 1963), 51 f. That the relative should occur in the accusative, as here, is however extremely rare. For more 'regular' instances of the omission of the antecedent in this hymn see lines 168, 267 and 281.

ἐπενήξατο: while νήχω/νήχομαι is epic, the compound occurs only in Hellenistic literature (Theoc. 23, 61, Cercid. 17, 11, etc.), and so does the aorist. — Compounds like ἐπιπλέω and ἐπιπλάζομαι usually take the accusative in Greek (πόντον, etc.), but in Call. the dative is used to denote the place, cf. line 193 παλιρροίῃ ἐπινήχεται (and *Batrach.* 107 μέσσῳ δ'ἐπενήχετο πόντῳ), the accusative for the direction, as with ἐπέρχομαι in *Od.* 4, 793.

The combination of ἐπενήξατο with ἐξ ὕδατος is rather harsh. If we keep the verb, ἐξ ὕδατος should mean 'coming from the water', or, as Schneider translates (p. 258): "*relicto mari in quo nata erat*". I agree with Meineke, that this is rather dubious; a smoother construction is obtained, when we read ἐπεμίξατο: 'on which she first went ashore from the water'. For ἐπιμίσγομαι = 'set foot on' cf. this hymn l. 39 and *H.* 1, 13, in the last instance also with the accusative. It must be admitted, however, that smoothness of construction seems hardly to be a Callimachean concern.

Κύπρις: the name is current in poetry from *Il.* 5, 422 onward; see Preller-Robert, *Griech. Myth.* I, 346, 1 n. — Cyprus was an extremely important Ptolemaic naval base from 294 B.C. onward; see Will I, 143 ff.

I wonder whether the name of Aphrodite here and in lines 307ff. might have been introduced by Callimachus to hint at Arsinoe, Philadelphus' sister, who had become his wife in about 276 B.C. (cf. Fraser, *PA* I, 117), since this queen greatly encouraged the cult of Aphrodite, and was also identified with her. See J. Tondriau, *BSA* 37 (1948), 1ff.; Fraser, *o.c.*, 197. That Aphrodite is mentioned here in connexion with the sea harmonizes well with the fact that in Alexandria Arsinoe was especially venerated as Aphrodite Pontia or Pelagia, as appears from the explicit prescription that sand had to be applied to the altars used in her cult (see L. Robert, *Sur ... un papyrus concernant des cultes royaux*, Essays ... Welles (New Haven 1966), 199). In *Delos*, in which there is an overt parallel between Apollo and Philadelphus, Arsinoe, as she was married to Ptolemy, could not of course be referred to in the person of Artemis, whose name, consequently, is completely absent from the poem (apart from the comparison in lines 228ff.). Outside the myth proper—both here and in 307ff. the mentioning of Κύπρις is rather isolated, having no essential function in the context—a reference to Aphrodite hardly disturbs the image of Apollo ~ Ptolemy, and could have been obvious to insiders as a hidden homage to the queen.

22. ἐξ ὕδατος τὰ πρῶτα: for the sound cf. *Il.* 1, 6 ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα. The words are not pleonastic, as some commentators think, but contain a pointed reference to Hesiod's tale (*Th.* 198ff.) that Aphrodite, once born in the sea, first approached Cythera, but only on reaching Cyprus came out of the water for the first time. Callimachus' audience may have been familiar—at least by hearsay—with Apelles' famous picture of Aphrodite Anadyomene on Cos; for earlier representations of the theme see E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen* (München 1969), 246ff.

σαοῖ δέ μιν: cf. *Il.* 6, 151* πολλοὶ δέ μιν, 21, 347* χαίρει δέ μιν, *Od.* 6, 281* ἕξει δέ μιν, etc. For the paratactical continuation after a relative clause cf. *Il.* 3, 387f. (γρηΐ) ἥ οἱ Λακεδαίμονι ναιεταώσῃ / ἤσκειν εἴρια καλά, μάλιστα δέ μιν φιλέεσκε, *Od.* 6, 85; Chantr. II, 354f.

Σαόω here seems to refer to Aphrodite's function as guardian goddess of the island, a use for which I know no parallel. Kuiper cites *h.Hom.* 13, 3 (τήνδε σάου πόλιν), but this hymn is probably later than Call., the words in question being an imitation of Call. *H.* 6, 134; see J. Humbert, *Homère, Hymnes* (Paris 1951), 40.

ἀντ': the elision of the iota is never found in Homer, but it is sometimes in the Homeric hymns and Hesiod, e.g. *Th.* 585 ἀντ' ἀγαθοῖο, see *LfgrE*, *s.v.* For ἀντί = 'instead of, by way of' cf. *Il.* 21, 75 ἀντί τοί εἰμ' ἱκέταο, *Od.* 8, 546 ἀντὶ κασιγνήτου ξεῖνος ... τέτυκται.

ἐπιβάθρων: ἐπίβαθρον is an Homeric *hapax* in *Od.* 15, 449 meaning 'passengers fare'. This led Bentley to the idea that Call. here thought of

Cyprus as a ship, and that Aphrodite on 'coming aboard' offered her divine protection by way of ναῦλον. The idea of an island as a ship is possibly attested for Delos (see L. Basch, *BCH* Suppl. I, 1973, 71), but hardly applies to larger islands (and is not found as such). It is also not necessary to stick to the way Homer uses the word, since it is found later used in a wider sense of 'payment, compensation' (Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 8, 7, 3, 727 F), while in PCair.Zen. IV, 753, 34 and 36 it is a technical term for 'landing-fee'. Given this last instance, it is attractive to understand the word as a humorous reference to some—perhaps recently introduced—Ptolemaic financial institution. On taxes to be paid by travellers inside Egypt see Cl. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides* (Bruxelles 1939), 351. For ἐπίβαθρον in A.R. 1, 421 and other writers see D. Wachsmuth, *ΠΟΜΠΙΜΟΣ Ο ΔΑΙΜΩΝ* (Berlin 1967), 167.

23. κεῖναι: 11 n.

πύργοισι: 'ramparts', as in *Il.* 7, 338, 437, etc. For the dative see below.

περισκεπέεσσιν: active 'sheltering all round' (but passive in *H.* 1, 11). Whether the word is a Callimachean coinage or not cannot be settled; see McLennan, *Zeus*, 40 (also on the cognate Homeric περίσκεπτος).

ἐρυμναί: a 'technical' word, mainly found in prose: Thuc. (5, 65), Xen., Arist., Polyb., etc. The occurrences in Hesiod (fr. 70, 21) and Euripides (see the Index of Allen-Italie *s.v.*) are almost certainly corrupt. — For the adjective with a dative of cause cf. 1.48 διάβροχον ὕδατι; the only instances elsewhere in Greek that I could find are S. *Ai.* 440 ἄτιμος Ἀργείοισιν and possibly S. *Ant.* 608 ἀγήρως χρόνῳ (with Jebb's note): see Kühner-Gerth II, 1, 422f.

The first half of this line has a certain likeness in sound with Simias fr. 1, 7 Ἐκ δ' ἱκόμην ἐλάταισι περὶ χλωρῇσιν ἐρεμνάς. With Wilamowitz, *HD* II, 65 n. 1, I consider the resemblance purely accidental, *pace* Fränkel, *De Simia Rhodio* (Göttingen 1915), *ad loc.*

24. Ἀπόλλωνι: *Il.* 1, 315*; 4, 101 ≅ 119*. For the scansion see W. Schulze, *Quaestiones epicae* (Güterslohn 1892), 269f.; and above, *Introd.*, ch. 4.3.2 (7).

τί δὲ στιβαρώτερον ἕρκος: rhetorical questions form part of the technique of Ancient Epic too, cf. *Il.* 9, 77; 21, 360, etc.; but the type with τίς + comparative is characteristic for Lyric poetry, Tragedy and Attic Prose, e.g. Pi. *I.* 1, 5 τί φίλτερον κεδνῶν τοκέων ἀγαθοῖς; S. *Ant.* 1281 τί δ' ἔστιν αὖ κάκιον; Pl. *Go.* 452a τί δ' ἐστὶν μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώποις ὑγιείας; See Thesleff, *Intensif.*, § 187. For τί δέ see Denn.^{2}, 173f.

In Homer and Hesiod, στιβαρός only qualifies men's limbs or weapons and the like; the transition from σάκος στιβαρόν (*Il.* 3, 335) to ἕρκος στιβαρόν is of course an easy one.

For the metaphorical use of ἕρκος see e.g. *Il.* 1, 283 f. (Ἀχιλλῆϊ) ὃς μέγα πᾶσιν / ἕρκος Ἀχαιοῖσι πέλεται πολέμοιο κακοῖο. See also Page on πύργος in E. *Md.* 390; Kienzle, *o.c.* (11 n.), 7 f. Pindar calls Apollo τοξοφόρον Δάλου θεοδμάτας σκοπόν (*O.* 6, 59). For Apollo's protection of Delos there is of course the famous instance in the second Persian War, in which the island was respected by Datis, cf. Hdt. 6, 97; see J. Marcadé, *Au musée de Délos* (Paris 1969), 23. Given the parallel Apollo ~ Philadelphus in this hymn, we here should also think of the king as patron of the Nesiotic League, on which see Will I, 79, 81.

25. τείχεα μὲν καὶ λᾶες: I do not believe that this is a hendiadys ('stone walls'), as Ernesti, Schneider and Cahen take it, comparing *A.P.* 13, 6, 3 κισσῷ καὶ στεφάνοισι, but an instance of *interpretatio homerica.* As appears from the description of the annihilation of the Trojan walls in *Il.* 12, 26 ff., the fortifications consisted of two elements: (i) τείχεα, made of wood (they are described as ἀλίπλοα in 26) and (ii) θεμείλια φιτρῶν καὶ λάων. So in *Delos* the reference may be to both walls and foundations consisting of different materials.

25 f. λᾶες ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς ... Στρυμονίου βορέαο: inspiration here came from *Il.* 12, 462 = *Od.* 8, 192 λᾶος ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς on the one hand, and from *Il.* 15, 171 ≅ 19, 358 ψυχρὴ ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς αἰθρηγενέος Βορέαο on the other; see Schmitt, *Nom.* 17 n. 12. For the idea cf. Pi. *P.* 6, 9 ff., who compares his song to a fortress, against which a χειμέριος ὄμβρος can do nothing, and Horace's *monumentum aere perennius ..., quod ... non aquilo impotens possit diruere* (*C.* 3, 30, 1 ff., cf. also Prop. 3, 2, 23, Mart. 8, 3, 5). Here however, there is no question of a comparison, and the matter-of-fact reader might reasonably ask whether the Northwind has ever in fact destroyed city-walls in history. Since that is hardly the case (the tale of the destruction of Babylon's walls in Joseph. *AJ* 1, 5 does not count), it seems reasonable to suppose the 'destroying Strymonian Boreas' to be a metaphor. C. Schneider, *Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus* II (München 1969), 317, thinks that Antigonos Gonatas is intended here. If, however, as I think, the hymn was written at the very beginning of 274 B.C., this is hardly apt, since Antigonos had just lost the greater part of Macedonia to Pyrrhus of Epirus in autumn 275 B.C. (see Will I, 190). 'Boreas' is far more appropriate to characterize the rashness of the same Pyrrhus, but the epithet 'Strymonian' fits the Epirote less well, though he conquered the area around Amphipolis too (see *CAH* VII, 213). Perhaps we should go further back in history and think of Philip II, who took Amphipolis some 80 years before.

ὑπό: Pfeiffer prefers this reading to the ὑπαί of the MSS, evidently since *POxy.* has ὑπ]ọρ̣ιπ̣α̣ις. But should we have so much confidence there in ὑπό,

when ῥιπαῖς is unacceptable? Pf. also cites *Il.* 15, 171 = 19, 358 for support, but some of the MSS there have ὑπαί, as in 12, 462 and *Od.* 8, 192. So I prefer, with Schneider, ὑπαὶ ῥιπῆς, since from the Homeric point of view this is the *lectio difficilior*.

κε πέσοιεν: in *Delos*, κε is found only here and in 126, both times with the optative; for the equally sparing use of ἄν see above, 9 n.

26. Στρυμονίου βορέαο: cf. Hdt. 8, 118 ἄνεμον Στρυμονίην; the epithet also in A. *Pe.* 867, E. *Rh.* 387. A far more common combination is Θρηίκιος Βορέας, see the instances cited by West on Hes. *Op.* 553; cf. further *Il.* 9, 5; 23, 229 f.; Herter, *KuH.*, 95 n. 3.; Bolton, *o.c.* (281 f. note), 195. For the enjambement with genitive depending on genitive cf. *Il.* 24, 317 f., and, in general, *Introd.*, ch. 3.3.

θεὸς δ' ἀεὶ ἀστυφέλικτος: ἀστυφέλικτος occurs in X. *Lac.* 14 (15), 7 and possibly also in *Ep. adesp.* 3, 35 (Philitas?) and 7, 9 Powell; cf. ἀστύφελος in Theogn. 1044. Callimachus' fondness for this type of *adjectivum verbale* with ἀ- *privans* may appear from the long list in Schmitt, *Nom.* 60 f. (with comm. on 77 f.). The impressive word is very apt to illustrate the god's *pondus*.

For the nominal phrase with ἀεί cf. *Il.* 16, 688 αἰεί τε Διὸς κρείσσων νόος, *Od.* 14, 150 θυμὸς δέ τοι αἰὲν ἄπιστος, etc., see *LfgrE*, col. 282; Call. *H.* 2, 68 ἀεὶ δ' εὔορκος Ἀπόλλων. On such half-lines with gnomic content ('paroemiacs') see further McLennan, *Zeus*, 37 f. For the formal use of ἀεί in hymns, stressing the eternal power of the god, see Keyssner, *Gottesvorst.*, 39 ff. The scansion ᾰεῑ is never found in early epic.

27. Δῆλε φίλη: cf. *Od.* 4, 743* νύμφα φίλη, 20, 129* μαῖα φίλη. Note the sudden transition from the third to the second person, which from now on is continually used throughout the hymn: see *Introd.*, ch. 1.3.1. Incidental apostrophe is already part of epic technique, cf. *Il.* 4, 127 οὐδὲ σέθεν, Μενέλαε, etc.; see Ameis-Henze-Cauer, *Anhang zu Homers Odyssee* III, 37 f.; Stanford on *Od.* 14, 55. As a formal element, it is more apt of course in hymns and hymnal passages: see Norden, *Agn. Theos.*, 143 ff. ("Du-Stil der Prädikation"); Deubner, *NJbA* 47 (1921), 364. Transition from *Er-Stil* to *Du-Stil* occurs in Hes. *Op.* 3 ff. / 9 f., *h.Ap.* 130 ff. / 140 ff., Arat. 1 ff. / 15 ff., etc. See Norden, *o.c.*, 163; Meyer, *Hymn. Stilelem.*, 36 ff.; Bornmann, *Dian.*, 54 on l. 110.

τοῖός σε βοηθόος ἀμφιβέβηκεν: cf. *Il.* 4, 390 τοίη οἱ ἐπίρροθος ἦεν Ἀθήνη, 5, 828 τοίη τοι ἐγὼν ἐπιτάρροθός εἰμι, 15, 254 f. τοῖόν τοι ἀοσσητῆρα Κρονίων ... προέηκε, Call. *H.* 4, 140 τοῖος γὰρ ἔβραμεν ἦχος, 216 τοίη σε προσέδραμεν ἀγγελιῶτις. Callimachus' variant βοηθόος is found in *Il.* 13, 477* and 17, 481*, Pi. *N.* 7, 33, [Ba.] epigr. 2, 3 Snell (= 34, 3 Jebb), etc., cf. Bornmann, *Dian.*, 16.

The placing of σε between τοῖος and βοηθόος is exquisite with a view to the idea expressed in ἀμφι-βέβηκεν. Enclitic personal pronouns, however, frequently occupy this place in the line: see above, 15 n.

ἀμφιβέβηκεν: *Il.* 6, 355*, 16, 66*, *Od.* 8, 541*, 12, 74*. For the use of the verb to express divine protection cf. *Il.* 1, 37, 451, *Od.* 9, 198, A. *Th.* 175, Pi. fr. 52h (A) d (conj.), generally of Apollo.

28-324 *Descriptive main part ('myth').*

28-54 Origin of Delos. Her 'pre-Apolline' existence.

'Which theme shall I choose to sing to you, Delos? That of how the islands came to be, cut off one day from the continent by a mighty god? Yours, however, was a different origin: you were the goddess Asteria, who once flung into the sea from heaven to escape the overtures of Zeus, and was roaming the sea since, from the Saronic Gulf to the Euripus, from Attica to Chios, Samos and Mycale. It was only when Apollo was born on your soil that you became fixed in the Aegean Sea, not being ἄδηλος any longer.'

As usual, the passage presents a blending of the topical and the new. Traditional is the *embarras du choix* theme followed by ἢ ὡς, found in *h.Ap.* 19 = 207 πῶς τάρ σ' ὑμνήσω πάντως εὔυμνον ἐόντα; ... (25/214) ἢ ὡς ..., and taken over by Pindar (*I.* 7, 1 ff.) and others: see Bundy, *art. cit.* (4 f. note), 66; Bethe, *SbLeipz.* 83 (1931), 16; Meyer, *Hymn. Stilel.* 21, n. 16; Janko, *art. cit.* (*Introd.*, ch. 1), 12 f. ('priamel'). Traditional, too, is the Catalogue of geographic names, recalling *h.Ap.* 30-44. But, unlike the matter-of-fact enumeration of the Homeric hymn, Callimachus' account is far more lively in its details taken from old myths (Telchines, Creation of the Islands, Asteria jumping into the sea, Ephyra, Parthenia, Ancaeus), while the description of Asteria's wanderings is attractively visualized by presenting the events of just one day of her existence in those early days (cf. 46 αὐτῆμαρ), including a meeting with seafarers in the Saronic Gulf, who watch the island floating by. For this Callimachean (and also generally Hellenistic) procedure of enlivening myth see especially Howald, *Kall.* 73; Fraser, *PA* I, 640 f.

Another new element in Callimachus' version of the myth is probably the origin of Delos as the nymph Asteria, who appears as a sister of Leto in Hes. *Th.* 409; this might explain the fact that, as a Titanid, she could withstand Hera's threat and put herself at Leto's disposal more naturally. Delos is called Asteria in Pindar, too (*pae.* 5, 42, cf. *hy.* 1, fr. 33 c 6 ἄστρον), but whether this poet already described Asteria as escaping Zeus' embrace is not known: see West, *Theog.*, 281.

28. εἰ δὲ λίην πολέες, etc.: 'But if a great many songs are current about you, in what kind of song shall I entwine you?' For this type of hypothetical clause, in which the condition conforms to reality, cf. *Il.* 1, 61; 21, 372, *Od.* 3,

376, etc.: see Chantr. II, 287; Schwyzer II, 684; Page on E. *Md.* 88 ('the condition is logically a fact'). Homer generally adds δή in these cases ('If, then—as you really do—you order me ...', cf. *Il.* 23, 558 etc.), so Callimachus' δέ here may stand for δή; it can also be connected, however, with the decision taken by the poet in line 9: 'Now I will sing a hymn to Delos. But—what will be the theme of my song, the choice being so wide?'

λίην: not 'all too (many)', as Mc Kay (*Erys.*, 144) and Howald-Staiger understand, since this would not be very complimentary to the island. Moreover, the logical continuation then would rather be 'What *new* one could I possibly think of?' Callimachus' preoccupation, however, is how to choose out of so many possibilities: so 'a great many' gives the required sense. For λίην + adjective cf. *Il.* 19, 226 (λίην πολλοί), *Od.* 11, 445, *h.Ap.* 67, etc. In Homer, λῐ́ην is less frequent than λῑ́ην.

According to the scholiast, the 'many songs' on Delos are those of Pindar and Bacchylides. (For ἀοιδή denoting epic as well as lyric poetry see Chantr., *Dict. Ét.* 22 A; Fernandez-Galiano I, 61). Poems on Delos, however, abound. Apart from the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, there were hymns that went under the names of Olen, the Sibyl, Eumelus, Melanopus and Simonides, *teste* Paus. 5, 7, 8 and 10, 12, 2; and the island further is described and/or praised by Theognis (5 ff.), Euripides (*IT* 1098 ff., *Hec.* 458 ff., *Ion* 161 ff., 919 ff.), Aratus (cf. Wilam., *HD* II, 63), the poet of *Skolion* 3 (fr. 886 Page) and by Demoteles of Andros, who was honoured by the Delians in 390-80 B.C. for having written τοὺς μύθους τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους (*IG* 544, cf. Ditt. *Syll.*[3], 382; Bruneau, *Recherches*, 16). For Delian hymns as a genre see further J. Frei, *De certaminibus thymelicis* (Basel 1900), 59 n.2.

πολέες: 'He should have written πολλαί,' the Scholiast somewhat pedantically remarks. Πολύς and other adjectives on -υς, however, are sometimes two-terminal already in Homer, cf. *Il.* 10, 27 πουλὺν ἐφ' ὑγρήν, *Od.* 12, 369 ἡδὺς ἀυτμή, etc.: see Chantr. I, 252 ff.; Volgraff, *Mnem.* 47 (1919), 336. Callimachus' use seems best explained as a Homerism, then, and not, as Vian supposes, "par goût du dactyle": see above, ch. 4.1, and n. 1.

περιτροχόωσιν: the compound first in *A.P.* 7, 338 (if Perses really is the author; the epigram is not included in Gow-Page's *Hellenistic Epigrams*). Homer has τροχάω in *Od.* 15, 451 (that is, the MSS have either τροχόωντα or τρωχῶντα) and περίτροχος in *Il.* 23, 455; περιτρέχω is found first in Thgn. 505.

It is not very likely that we should think here of poems forming as it were a choir dancing around Delos, as Cahen (*Comm.*, 162) suggests, since that is hardly compatible with the image in the next line. One could perhaps better think of the use of περιτρέχω = 'to be current' (though the instances cited in *LSJ* do not present a transitive use) and translate with Fernandez-Galiano (I, 62): "muchos cantos circulan alrededor de ti."

Here, as in line 27, word-order is illustrative of the content, σε being encompassed by πολέες ... ἀοιδαί; but this could just as well be accidental.

29. ἐνιπλέξω: πλέκω is Homeric (*Il.* 14, 176, etc.), the compound being found first in A. *Pr.* 610 and 1079. — The idea probably is that of song as an ὕφασμα, with representations woven into it (cf. Pi. fr. 197; W. Wimmel, *Kallimachos in Rom*, Hermes Einzelschriften 16, 1960, 67). The poet thus possibly intended to suggest that the role Delos herself had to play in the poem was not an exclusive, but even a minor one. To render ἐμπλέκω here by 'to connect with' (cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 244c τῇ καλλίστῃ τέχνῃ ... αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα ἐμπλέκοντες) would not be impossible in itself, but it is less probable for a poet to use worn out metaphorical language.

θυμῆρες: Homeric *unicum* in *Od.* 10, 362 θυμῆρες κεράσασα, cf. θυμῆρε' in *h.Cer.* 494. Pfeiffer lists θυμῆρες under θυμαρής in his *Index*, adding a warning *sic*; others distinguish two different forms, θυμήρης and θυμαρής, the latter occurring three times in Homer (*Il.* 9, 336, *Od.* 17, 199; 23, 232) and once in Call. (*H.* 6, 55). See Herodian. Gr. 2, 41, 18; 65, 19; Schmitt, *Nom.* 118; Chantr., *Dict. Ét.*, col. 446a; N.J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford 1974), 323.

For the theme 'which subject is dearest to you?' cf. Pi. *I.* 7, 1 ff. Τίνι τῶν πάρος, ὦ μάκαιρα Θήβα / καλῶν ἐπιχωρίων μάλιστα θυμὸν τεόν / εὔφρανας, and possibly *h.Ap.* 22 πᾶσαι δὲ σκοπιαί τοι ἅδον, cf. Call. *H.* 3, 183 ff.; Bundy, *o.c.*, 65 f.

ἀκοῦσαι: on the statutory place, cf. *Od.* 2, 375*; 4, 553*, etc.: see *LfgrE s.v.* For the infinitive depending on an adjective cf. *Od.* 15, 375 οὐ μείλιχον ἔστιν ἀκοῦσαι.

30. ἢ ὡς τὰ πρώτιστα: cf. *h.Ap.* 25 ἢ ὥς σε πρῶτον Λητὼ τέκε, 214 f. ἢ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον χρηστήριον ἀνθρώποισι / ζητεύων κατὰ γαῖαν ἔβης. In the Homeric hymn, the formula directly announces the theme to follow, while in *Delos* it introduces the birth-of-Delos theme only in a negative way: 'Shall I tell you about the origin of the islands? *Your* origin, however, was different...'; another instance of Callimachean variation technique. See *Introd.*, ch. 1.3.4.

For ὡς τὰ πρῶτα referring to a creation-myth cf. also *h.Merc.* 427 f. κραίνων ἀθανάτους τε θεοὺς καὶ γαῖαν ἐρεμνὴν / ὡς τὰ πρῶτα γένοντο, Hes. *Th.* 108 εἴπατε δ' ὡς τὰ πρῶτα θεοὶ καὶ γαῖα γένοντο (cf. 113). For the stylistic device of the announcement of a subject passing tacitly into its treatment see F. Dornseiff, *RhM* 89 (1940), 229 f.

μέγας θεός: ὁ Ποσειδῶν, explains the Scholiast, duly followed by all commentators, experienced as they are in Hellenistic *periphrasis*. I am far from sure, however, that Call. actually meant Poseidon here. Certainly, the latter is called μέγαν θεόν in *Il.* 8, 200 (but other gods bear the predicate as

well, see below), and he plays a role in several stories about the coming-to-be of islands, cf. *Od.* 13, 162ff. (Phaeacian ship turned into an island by Pos.), Strab. 10, 5, 16 (Nisyrus separated from Cos by Pos.) and *Orph. Arg.* 1279ff. (creation of islands by Pos., hitting the Λυκαονίη γαῖα). But the name of the Telchines instead of the more common Cyclopes, and the combination ἄορι τριγλώχινι with its archaic ring indicate that Call. here again is possibly playing with mythological 'chronology', suggesting that the islands were not created by Poseidon, but in the pre-Olympic era (hence the use of the superlative in ὡς τὰ πρώτιστα?) by some nameless mighty god, managing a curious three-barbed weapon (not necessarily a trident! see below). Call. might have found a description of such a god in literary sources now lost to us, or perhaps he knew of archaic representations of a deity (nowadays identified as Poseidon; cf. also *Il.* 14, 384ff.) with a *Blitzblume* (thunderbolt-flower) with three pointed petals on a long stem, such as is found on a Laconian cup in the Museum of Cerveteri (from tomb 546 on Monte Abatone), and on Corinthian *pinakes* of the 6th century B.C. See C. Blinkenberg, *The Thunderweapon* (Cambridge 1911), 53; F. Schachermeyr, *Poseidon und die Entstehung des griechischen Götterglaubens* (Bern 1950), 164ff.; E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen* (München 1969), 79, 82. (For other instances in Call. where the poet was possibly or probably inspired by works of art see T. B. L. Webster, *Hellenistic Poetry and Art*, London 1964, 173f.). Anyhow, it is especially in such an 'archaic' context that the Telchines are at home, being vague figures of remote antiquity (see below), whereas the activity of the Cyclopes as blacksmiths belongs to the Olympian era: see West, *Theog.*, 207 (on l. 139). In my view, then, the whole phrase is not mere learned adornment, but serves the poet's aim to 'chronologize' myth in a playful way. See above, 28-54 n.

Μέγας θεός always occurs in this *sedes* in early epic, cf. *Il.* 16, 531; 21, 248; 24, 90, etc., as do also the variants δεινός/δεινὴ θεός in *Il.* 4, 514, *Od.* 7, 41, 246, Hes. *Th.* 759, 933, etc., see West on Hes. *Th.* 442f.

οὔρεα θείνων: the idea that islands originally formed part of the continent is found in several places in Greek literature, e.g. in Duris 76 FGH 87 (rocks thrown by giants become islands) and Agathocles of Cyzicus 472 FGH 2 (part of the continent, severed by giants, becomes fixed in the sea as an island); cf. also A.R. 4, 1749. The motif is also found in stories of island-dwellers in the Pacific (Hawaii, Tahiti, Tonga, etc.), see Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, I (Helsinki 1932), 174f. (A 955.11).

For θείνων ἄορι cf. *Il.* 10, 484 = 21, 21 ἄορι θεινομένων, 20, 462 ἄορι τύψας. In Homer, the object of θείνω is always a man's or an animal's body: see Trümpy, *Krieg. Fachausdr.*, 97.

31. ἄορι τριγλώχινι: ἄορ was commonly held by ancient commentators to be synonymous with ξίφος and φάσγανον, cf. Schol. A on *Il.* 3, 271, Dion.

Thrax 36, 5; Trümpy, *o.c.*, 61 ff. The fact that in *Il.* 14, 384 f. Poseidon is described handling a δεινὸν ἄορ τανύηκες gave way to the interpretation 'trident' for ἄορ, cf. Schol. T on *Il.* 14, 385 τινὲς τὴν τρίαιναν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀρκάδες καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ πᾶν ὅπλον ἄορ καλοῦσιν, see *LfgrE* s.v., with lit. As far as we know, however, no poet ever went so far as to use the single word ἄορ for 'trident': Philetas (fr. 23 Pow.) used it of a spear, and the adjective τριγλώχινι in Call. at all events makes clear that he too did not take the single word ἄορ for 'trident'. But what exactly is τριγλώχιν?

Γλωχῖνα is a Homeric *unicum* in *Il.* 24, 274, where an intricate description is given of the fastening of the yoke to the pole of a mule-cart, while τριγλώχιν is found twice in the Iliad as an epithet for an arrow, in 11, 507 with ἰῷ, in 5, 393 with ὀιστῷ; cf. Simon. fr. 636 Page τριγλώχιν ὀιστός. (For an explanation of the question how τριγλώχις could serve as an epithet for the notched arrow-plates found in Mycenaean sites see W. E. McLeod, *AJA* 64 (1960), 370 f.). The basic idea for γλωχίς that the instances cited suggest is clearly that of a *barb* or *barbed hook*; so in Babrios 17, 3 ἀγκυλογλώχιν refers to the hooked spurs of a cock. Now the epithet 'three-barbed' excellently fits the weapon with the three-pointed petals which is depicted on the archaic representations mentioned above (30 n.). It is not at all a difficulty that Call. elsewhere (*Aet.* fr. 1, 36) applied the epithet to Trinacria/Sicily, where we should interpret it as 'three-pointed' (for γλωχίς 'point' cf. *Il.* 22, 225 μελίης χαλκογλώχινος, S. *Tr.* 681 πικρᾷ γλωχῖνι): typical 'Homerisms' are occasionally used by Call. in different contexts (and so with different meanings). See for example Pfeiffer's *Index Vocab.* s.v. οὖλος.

τό οἱ Τελχῖνες ἔτευξαν: for τεύχειν as *t.t.* for forging cf. *Il.* 14, 166 ≅ 338 τόν οἱ φίλος υἱὸς ἔτευξεν (of Hephaestus), Hes. *Th.* 141 Ζηνὶ ... τεῦξάν τε κεραυνόν (of the Cyclopes).

Τελχῖνες: semi-divine beings, originally artificers, to whom the μετάλλων εὕρεσις and the first metalworks were ascribed. See Friedländer in *Roscher*, *s.v.*; Herter, *RE* 2, V A 1, cols. 197 ff. That they belong to an early phase in the world's history is indicated in Tzetz. *Theog.* 85 f. = Bacchyl. fr. 52 Sn. (Τελχῖνες,) οὓς Βακχυλίδης μέν φησι Νεμέσεως Ταρτάρου, ἄλλοι τινὲς δὲ λέγουσι τῆς Γῆς τε καὶ τοῦ Πόντου. The Cyclopes were very old, too, of course, but their activity as blacksmiths only started after their release by Zeus: see West, *Theog.*, 207.

The proverbial evil characteristics of the Telchines, viz. γοήτες and φθονεροί, mentioned by Call. in *Aet.* fr. 75, 64 f. and in the famous prologue, fr. 1, 7, where the T. represent the poet's literary adversaries (see Fraser, *PA* I, 747 ff.; II, 253) are absent in this passage, which is only to be expected in a hymn that was written at the start of Callimachus' career as a poet and scholar in the Alexandrian Museum: the literary feud would not have been in existence from the very beginning.

32. νήσους εἰναλίας: cf. [Arist.] *De Mundo* 329 b 19 νήσοις τε ἐναλίοις, and below, 153f. In Homer, the epithet qualifies sea-animals exclusively; with geographic notions it is found in *h.Hom.* 6, 2f. Κύπρου ... / εἰναλίης, S. fr. 234 N. (= 255 P.) ἐναλία Εὐβοιὶς αἶα, E. *Hl.* 148 γῆν ἐναλίαν Κύπρον, etc. See Kienzle, *o.c.* (1 n.), 21. — The pleonastic εἰναλίας may serve here to stress the contrast: parts of the *mainland* now become islands *in the sea.*

εἰργάζετο: cf. *Od.* 3, 435* ἐργάζετο; on the orthography see Chantr. I, 12.

νέρθε δὲ πάσας: cf. *Il.* 7, 212* νέρθε δὲ ποσσίν, 22, 452* νέρθε δὲ γοῦνα. Πάσας has always been regarded as a stumbling-block, partly because of the element of exaggeration, partly since the description that follows refers to the mountains lifted and not to the resulting islands (so that we should expect πάντα). The previous sentence, however, has made mountain-blocks and islands already identical in the poet's (and the reader's) mind, so that it is quite natural that πάσας should be feminine with νήσους, and not neuter because of οὔρεα occurring two lines before. As to the exaggeration, there seems to be no reason for disbelieving that Call. here could proclaim that all islands really came into being in this way; moreover, πάσας aptly underlines Delos' unique position in the world.

The corrections proposed are in my view no improvements: after θείνων in l. 30, δ' ἐλάσσας (Meineke) as well as δὲ πλήξας (Bergk) are only pleonastic, while Schneider's δ' ἐπάρας, apart from being unepic (we should rather write νέρθε δ' ἀείρας in that case, cf. *Il.* 10, 505 and below, l. 134) is by its flatness ill-matched with the picturesque ἐκ νεάτων ὤχλισσε. Th. Bergk, *Kleine philologische Schriften* (Halle 1886), 187, supposes that the end of l. 32 was wholly illegible in the archetypus, as a result of damage such as in 177 a/b and 200/1. In a MS presenting 24 lines to a page, however, we should expect a corruption not in 32 but in 33/4, and corresponding corruptions in 9/10, 57/8, 81/2, etc.; but these lines seem sound enough. Bergk's proposition νέρθε δὲ βάθρων, though facilitating the explanation of ἐκ νεάτων in the next line, does not therefore rest on a firm palaeographical base.

33. ἐκ νεάτων: 'from the foundations'. The common Homeric form is νείατος, νεα- occurring only in the formulaic νέαται/-τη Πύλου ἠμαθοέντος (*Il.* 9, 153, 295; 11, 712). The substantival use here is remarkable. For its use in a 'vertical' sense cf. Sol. 13, 10 ἐκ νεάτου πυθμένος. See Chantr., *Dict. Ét.*, 740a.

ὤχλισσε: ὀχλίζω ('move by a lever, heave up', LSJ) is a rare verb, found only in Homer, in the forms ὀχλίσσειαν (*Il.* 12, 448, *Od.* 9, 242) and μετοχλίσσειε (*Il.* 24, 567, *Od.* 23, 188), and in Hellenistic poetry. For the spelling (-σσ- or -σ-) see Pfeiffer, *Call.* II, *Prol.* LXXXIX.

After a whole sequence of imperfects, the choice of the aorist here is less significant than Cahen (*Call.*, 455) thinks, and probably due to the imitation

of the above Homeric forms. It is also possible that the alternation is intended as imitation of the Homeric usage of presenting both tenses alternately in one and the same passage, cf. *Il.* 2, 41 ff.; 8, 471 ff., etc.; see Chantr. II, 194. For the influence of the verb's *Aktionsart* on the choice between imperfect and aorist see C. M. J. Sicking, *Hoofdstukken uit de Griekse 'syntaxis'* (Amsterdam 1971), 61 ff. See further below, 260 ff. note.

εἰσεκύλισε θαλάσσῃ: cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 651 εἰς οἷ' ἐμαυτὸν εἰσεκύλισα πράγματα. The only cognate epic word is ἐξεκυλίσθη, *Il.* 6, 42; 23, 394.

The use of the dative with an εἰσ-compound is highly unusual; but θαλάσσῃ is a dative of direction in *Il.* 8, 24 and *Od.* 14, 350.

Cahen puts the question-mark only after ἐρρίζωσε in 35, thus interrupting the μὲν ... δέ correspondance, while Vahlen, *Opuscula Academica* I (Leipzig 1907), 437 with note 15, skipped it altogether, the long sentence, according to him, passing from question into narrative. The latter interpretation depends on the question how far ἢ ὡς was felt to be interrogative; in *h.Ap.* 27 and 214, editors have it followed by an question-mark. With Pfeiffer's punctuation the division of the period is natural and quite satisfactory.

34. καὶ τὰς μέν: *Od.* 6, 89*; 20, 176*, *h.Merc.* 106*. For the narrative device τὰς μὲν ... σὲ δ' οὐκ see *Introd.*, ch. 3.1.4.

κατὰ βυσσόν: 'down at the sea-bottom'. Ψ has βυθόν, of which the υ counts short; hence the learned scribe of the *Taurinensis* already wrote βένθος in the margin. W. Dindorf, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* II, 454 *s.v.* βῦθός, as an alternative proposed βυσσόν, referring to *Il.* 24, 80, where the MSS have either βυσσόν or βυθόν. This seems the more reasonable, since Call. has βυσσόθεν at l. 127 and in fr. 202, 59 (*Add.* I, 118) too. Schmitt, *Nom.* 47 n. 14, however, remains sceptical, while Giangrande, *H* 94 (1966), 425 ff., prefers the old emendation κατὰ βένθος, which occurs in *Il.* 18, 38 ≅ 49, E. fr. 304, 2 N., A.R. 4, 966. Giangrande's argument, though, that κατὰ βυσσόν would be unlikely because elsewhere only combinations with ἐν, ἐκ or εἰς occur is of course extremely weak; moreover the fact that Apollonius follows Homer faithfully does not prove anything at all for Call., whose variation technique so often takes a different course.

I wonder whether it would be altogether impossible to retain the MSS text βυθόν, which is found in a fair number of MSS in *Il.* 24, 80, and also in Orph. *Arg.* 1289 ἐς βυθὸν δίσκευσαν ἁλιρρόθοιο θαλάσσης. That we then should have βῦθόν here, whereas in *H.* 6, 89 βῦθόν occurs, is not necessarily an objection, cf. *H.* 4, 14 ῡδατος against 22 ῠδατος; see above, *Introd.*, ch. 4.3.2 (7). Variation in quantity of α, ι and υ preceding another vowel inside a word is a common phenomenon in all Greek poetry: see Maas, *GM*, 83 f.

ἵν' ἠπείροιο λάθωνται: cf. *Od.* 9, 102* νόστοιο λάθηται, *Il.* 12, 235* ἐριγδούποιο λάθεσθαι. For ἠπείροιο in this *sedes* cf. *Il.* 1, 485*, *Od.* 14, 97* etc.; for λάθωνται cf. *Il.* 10, 99*.

The subjunctive with ἵνα after a past tense in the main sentence is found in Homer too, cf. *Il.* 1, 158; 4, 486, etc. See Chantr. II, 269.

35. πρυμνόθεν ἐρρίζωσε: πρυμνόθεν first in Aeschylus (*Se.* 71, 1056), meaning 'root and branch, utterly'. Here evidently 'at the underside/bottom' is intended, for which Homer has the adj. πρυμνός, e.g. in *Il.* 12, 446 (λᾶας) πρυμνὸς παχύς, αὐτὰρ ὕπερθεν ὀξὺς ἔην. Πρυμνόθεν might have been made on analogy of ὕπερθεν in Homer, but the influence of *Od.* 13, 163 καὶ ἐρρίζωσεν ἔνερθε, in the passage about the Phaeacian ship turned into an island by Poseidon, seems the more likely here. In other Hellenistic writers πρυμνόθεν = 'from/at the stern', for which Homer has πρύμνηθεν (*Il.* 15, 716). For a full discussion of these terms see Schneider, 261 f., cf. Schmitt, *Nom.* 105 n. 7. For ἐρρίζωσε cf. *Od.* 13, 163 quoted above, Hdt. 1, 64 (metaphor.), and also below, l. 54 ποδῶν ... ῥίζας.

ἔθλιψεν: θλίβω 'oppress' is a common Attic word, mostly in prose, occurring once in *Od.* 17, 221 ὃς πολλῇς φλιῇσι παραστὰς θλίψεται ὤμους. A fair number of MSS have φλίψεται there, an Aeolic-Ionic form (cf. Schwyzer I, 303) preferred by Zenodotus, on whose critical edition Call. often—but apparently not this time—relied. See Pfeiffer, *HCS* 139.

ἀνάγκη: generally at the end of the line in early epic. For ἀνάγκη = 'oppressing force' cf. *Il.* 6, 458 κρατερὴ δ' ἐπικείσετ' ἀνάγκη. Some MSS have ἀνάγκῃ, which makes the 'great god' the subject of ἔθλιψεν, too, thus giving the impression that Asteria was made by this god, but not fixed by him like the other islands. The reader then has to correct this idea on account of the evidence of the next lines, in which Asteria appears to be not a piece of a mountain at all. Such a device is not impossible in Call., of course. On the other hand, ἀνάγκῃ as an error is easily understood, since it occurs more than thirty times in this *sedes* in Homer (*Il.* 9, 429*, 692*, *Od.* 1, 154*, etc.).

36. ἄφετος: first in the name Ἀφεταί in Hes. fr. 263, then in A. *Pr.* 666 ἄφετον ἀλᾶσθαι (of Io), etc. The word often denotes persons and animals dedicated to some deity, cf. E. *Ion* 822, Pl. *Criti.* 119d, etc. (see Rose and Groeneboom *ad loc.*); if that was indeed a connotation of ἄφετος, the word very well applies to Asteria, since she will become sacred to Apollo later.

The idea of Delos as a floating island is not yet present in the Homeric hymn to Apollo, though in l. 73 Delos speaks anxiously about the chance of being thrown into the sea by Apollo: ... ποσσὶ καταστρέψας ὤσῃ ἁλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσι. (Cook's remark, *Zeus* III, 2, 984: "This passage suggests that Delos was unstable if not actually afloat", undoubtedly goes too far: see Allen-Halliday-Sikes *ad loc.*). Pindar is the first one we know of to tell the story of this 'daughter of the sea', fr. 33 d, 1 ff.: ἦν γὰρ τὸ πάροιθε φορητὰ / κυμάτεσσι παντοδαπῶν ἀνέμων / ῥιπαῖσιν, cf. *pae.* 7b, fr. 52h, 49 πεφόρητο δ' ἐπ' Αἰγαῖον θαμά. The resemblance of φορητὰ κυμάτεσσι and ἄφετος

πελάγεσσιν suggests that Call. draws here on Pindar, but there may have been a common source for both, too. See further below, 37 n. In Egypt, the tale of wandering Delos will have roused special associations with the floating island of Chemmis near Buto in the Western Delta, where Leto should have hidden Apollo from Typhon, cf. Hdt. 2, 156, and see Cook, *Zeus* III, 2, 984 f.

πελάγεσσιν: in early epic only in the combination ἁλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσιν: *Od.* 5, 335, *h.Ap.* 73, *h.* 33, 15, cf. Archil. 8, 1, Pi. *P.* 4, 251; without ἁλός or the like it is found in Tragedy, cf. S. *Ai.* 702, E. *Or.* 99; also in A.R. 4, 240. See J. D. P. Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus* (Oxford 1962), fr. 7, 2 note. For the dative see below.

ἐπέπλεες: cf. ἐπέπλεον in *Il.* 1, 312*, *Od.* 4, 842*, 15, 474*, ἐπέπλως in *Od.* 3, 15, cf. Hes. *Op.* 650. In writing ἐπέπλεες Call. conforms to Naeke's Law: see *Introd.*, ch. 4.2.2. In Homer, ἐπιπλέω/-πλώω 'sail upon/over' always takes the accusative (πόντον, ἅλμυρον ὕδωρ, ὑγρα κέλευθα, μέγα λαῖτμα), while in later writers the dative marks the direction or aim, cf. Hdt. 5, 86, Th. 3, 76, etc. Also in other compounds with ἐπι- in Greek the dative hardly ever denotes rest; for the exceptions see *LSJ s.v.* ἐπίκειμαι, ἐπινήχομαι (*Batrach.* 107) and ἐπιπέτομαι (Ael. *NA* 17, 16).

οὔνομα: *Od.* 6, 194*; 9, 355*. Ὄνομα is four times as frequent as οὔνομα in Homer. For the possessive dative cf. *Od.* 9, 366 Οὖτις ἐμοί γ' ὄνομα, etc.

37. Ἀστερίη: the name may have come as something of a surprise for the audience, since the well-known alternative for Delos was Ortygia, a name with identical metrical pattern which is completely absent in this hymn, no doubt because of its connexion with the birth of Artemis, to whom Call. makes no reference at all in *Delos* (but see 229 n.); for a possible explanation see above, 21 n. Neither is any trace of Apollodorus' version of the myth (1, 4, 1), in which Asteria was transformed into a quail after her jump from heaven, found in *Delos*.

Hesiod (*Th.* 409) was the first one to name Asteria as a sister of Leto, and both of them as children of Coeus and Phoebe. It is remarkable that nowhere does Call. allude to the kinship of Asteria and Leto in this hymn; the extensive characterization of Asteria/Delos by Apollo in 191 ff. even suggests that Leto was completely unfamiliar with the island. On the other hand, Hesiod appears to have known nothing about overtures of Zeus towards Asteria. Call. is evidently drawing for that on Pindar, who tells (fr. 52h, 43 ff.) how a daughter of Coeus, Διὸς οὐκ ἐθέλο]ισα ἐμβῆναι λέχος (as supplied *exempli gratia* by Snell), became a conspicuous rock after having been thrown into the sea. Asteria is further mentioned in fr. 52e, 42 (about Apollo granting the Athenians Ἀστερίας δέμας οἰκεῖν), while at fr. 33c, 4 ff. there is a possible allusion to her name: ἀκίνητον τέρας, ἅν τε βροτοί/Δᾶλον κικλήσκουσιν, μάκαρες δ' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ/τηλέφαντον κυανέας χθονὸς ἄστρον, which

recalls *Delos* 38 ἀστέρι ἴσῃ. See Secci, *art. cit.* (20 n.), 807f.; Smiley, *Ha* 40 (1914), 66. (Since in Pi. *pae.* 6, 126 Aegina is called ἄστρον too, ἄστρον in fr. 33c needs not refer to Asteria's celestial origin, a metaphor possibly being intended: see Cook, *Zeus* III, 2, 984, against Bürchner, *RE* IV, col. 2462; Snell, *Entd. des Geistes*, 129.)

Asteria is depicted by Phoibe's side on the frieze of the altar of Zeus at Pergamum: see E. Schmidt, *The Great Altar of Pergamon* (Leipzig 1962), 14f., 31, and Plate 17 (superscribed [ACT]EPIH).

τὸ παλαιόν: first in A. *Pe.* 95; early epic has πάλαι. For 'Αστερίη τὸ παλαιόν cf. *H.* 3, 47f. Λιπάρῃ νέον, ἀλλὰ τότ' ἔσκεν/οὔνομά οἱ Μελιγουνίς. Callimachus' interest in the *metonomasia* of islands is overt throughout his work, cf. especially frs. 580ff. See Pf. on fr. 601; Capovilla, *Helikon* 8 (1968), 97. Hellenistic interest in these matters no doubt arose from the scholars' work on Homer, in whose works names such as Ortygia, Syrie and Scheria gave rise to much controversy. For Callimachus' integration of learning into his works see Pfeiffer, *HCS*, 135.

βαθὺν ἥλαο τάφρον: cf. *Il.* 1, 532 εἰς ἅλα ἆλτο βαθεῖαν, *Batrach.* 249 ἥλατο δ' ἐς τάφρους. A remarkable variant is found in Theoc. 3, 42: ἐς βαθὺν ἅλατ' ἔρωτα, see Gow *ad loc.* Wilamowitz (*HD* II, 65) was slightly shocked by the "ausserste Gewaltsamkeit" with which Delos, only a piece of rock to the reader just now, here suddenly appears as a goddess, jumping from heaven into the sea. But the reader was prepared for this in the foregoing lines: in 4ff., Delos appeared as Apollo's τιθήνη, washing and wrapping the new-born god, while in 16ff. she was described as parading at the head of the other islands at the 'Court' of Oceanus and Tethys. Besides, Pindar already extensively made use of the device of the sudden transition from notion to person and *vice versa.* See F. Dornseiff, *Pindars Stil* (Berlin 1921), 52; G. Norwood, *Pindar* (Berkeley 1945, repr. 1956), 35ff.

βαθὺν ... τάφρον: cf. *Il.* 7, 341 βαθεῖαν ... τάφρον. Adjectives on -υς are sometimes two-terminal in epic, see 28 n. Βαθύς is fem. in *h.Cer.* 383 (unless ἠέρα there is masc., see *LSJ s.v.*), cf. Eratosth. fr. 8 Pow. βαθὺς διαφύεται αὐλών, quoted explicitely by Athenaeus for the θηλικῶς use of βαθύς. Τάφρον was explained by Wilamowitz (*HD* II, 65 with note) to be the strait between Mykonos and Rheneia, referring for this use of τάφρος to Plin. *NH* 3, 83. No ancient poet, however, seems to have connected the place where Asteria plunged into the sea with the one that she definitely occupied later after her wanderings through the Mediterranean. Schneider (262f.) supposed that the 'Ωκεανός could be meant, being a ποταμός (*Il.* 18, 607, etc.); or better still, it could be seen as a suitable term for the sea between the islands in the Aegean. The absence of any definite local indication certainly suggests that τάφρος is some chosen variant for 'sea', comparable to the use of αὐλών (see Groeneboom on A. *Pr.* 732, Jebb on S. *Tr.* 100), πόρος (see *LSJ*) and

Latin *fretum* (see Williams on Verg. *Aen.* 3, 127). Emendations are unnecessary, those in which ἀφρόν replaces τάφρον being certainly out of the question, since the word would raise undesirable associations with the birth of Aphrodite.

ἤλαο: also in fr. 37, 3, instead of epic ἅλσο (*Il.* 16, 754); but Homer has ἐσήλατο twice (*Il.* 12, 438; 16, 558), cf. ἥλατο in E. *Ion* 1402, *Batrach.* 225. The construction of ἅλλομαι with the accusative of direction is not found in early epic (see *LfgrE s.v.*), but is—*pace* Kuiper, 120—common in Homer with other verbs of movement, cf. *Il.* 1, 322 ἔρχεσθον κλισίην, etc. See Chantr. II, 45; Bornmann on *H.* 3, 195 (ἥλατο πόντον).

38. οὐρανόθεν: 'from the sky', since the οὐρανός is Zeus' abode (see McLennan, *Zeus*, 95f.) or 'from Olympus', as in *Il.* 1, 195, *Od.* 6, 281. — It would be better to put a comma after οὐρανόθεν, which goes with the previous line ('she jumped from heaven into the sea') cf. *Od.* 5, 50 ἐξ αἰθέρος ἔμπεσε πόντῳ (≅ *Il.* 14, 258). Connexion with φεύγουσα, at any rate, is awkward, because of the addition of Διὸς γάμον: 'escaping Zeus' embrace from heaven' hardly makes sense.

φεύγουσα Διὸς γάμον: cf. *Od.* 19, 157 ἐκφυγέειν ... γάμον, Hes. *Th.* 603 γάμον φεύγων, cf. fr. 73, 5, *Cypr.* fr. 2 OCT, Theogn. 1293. For γάμος = 'affair' cf. *Cypr. l.c.*, *Il.* 5, 429, *h.Ven.* 29, *h.* 19, 35, E. *Hl.* 190, etc., and see below on γαμεῖσθαι, 240n.

ἀστέρι ἴση : for the hiatus cf. *Il.* 22, 460 μαίναδι ἴση, *h.Ap.* 441 ἀστέρι εἰδόμενος, etc.: see *Introd.*, ch. 4.4.4. The image is probably derived from *Il.* 4, 75ff., where Athena's swift jump from Mt. Olympus onto the battlefield is compared to an ἀστήρ. For the comparison of Delos to an ἄστρον in Pi. fr. 33c, 6, being probably of a different nature, see above, 37 n.

Etymology of proper names is a well-known phenomenon in early epic already, e.g. in the case of Aphrodite, Odysseus and Pegasus: see E. Risch, in: *Eumusia*, Festgabe Howald (Zürich 1947), 72ff.; West, *Theog.*, Index *s.v.* Etymology.

39f. τόφρα μὲν ... τόφρα δέ: the combination is generally taken as a variant of Homeric ὄφρα (μὲν) ..., τόφρα (δέ), cf. *Il.* 9, 550f.; 12, 10ff. Τόφρα is a relative too in A.R. 4, 1617 and perhaps in Antim. fr. 3, 2 Wyss (see Wilamowitz, *SbBerl.*, 1928, 17); Call. further has τόσσα for ὅσσα in *H.* 2, 94 and 4, 246, and τόθι for ὅθι in fr. 29, 10. In this interpretation, μέν in 39 corresponds with δέ in 51: 'As long, then, as Leto had not got in touch with you, you were Asteria, roaming the sea; but when Apollo was delivered on your soil, your name was changed.' Cf. Pi. *hy.* 1, fr. 33d, 3ff. ἀλλ' ἁ Κοιογενὴς ὁπότ' ... / ... ἐπέβα / νιν, δὴ τότε ....

It is also quite possible, however, to take τόφρα adverbially twice, as Mair does ('Until then golden Leto consorted not with thee: then thou wert still

Asteria ...'); in that case μέν corresponds with δέ in the next line. The use of the imperfect ἐπεμίσγετο slightly favours the first interpretation, τόφρα meaning 'as long as'; but see 33 n. on the use of imperfect and aorist in Call.

39. τοι: 36 n.

χρυσέη: the epithet generally accompanies Aphrodite (cf. *Il.* 3, 64, Mimn. 1, 1, etc.), but in Lyric poetry it is applied to other goddesses as well, e.g. Artemis (Ba. 11, 117), the Nereids (Pi. *N.* 5, 7), and the Muses (Pi. *I.* 8, 5); in *h.Ap.* 205, Leto is called χρυσοπλόκαμος. The latter epithet is a weighty argument against L. J. Bauer's incomprehensible idea (pp. 50 ff.) that χρυσέη seems to be in deliberate contrast to the Hesiodic epithet of Leto κυανόπεπλος, given the etymological connotations of Λητώ with 'forgetfulness, obscurity and darkness' (λανθάνω) which Call. is supposed to have been constantly aware of in *Delos* (*sic*).

It seems impossible to establish whether we should scan χρῡσέ̯η or χρῡσέη. The first scansion is suggested by the fact that lines 260 ff. have four times χρῡ- (but always in the *arsis*), the second one by the rule that in a line with a penthemimeral and a hephthemimeral caesura without bucolic diaeresis (5 + 7 without 8; see *Introd.*, ch. 4.2.2 (4)) a dissyllabic biceps should follow the first caesura; see A. Wifstrand, *Von Kallimachos zu Nonnos* (Lund 1933), 39. But exceptions to metrical rules otherwise strictly kept do occur in Call. from time to time, see *Introd.* ch. 4.2 ff.

For the *hiatus* after χρυσέη see ch. 4.4.4.

ἐπεμίσγετο: combines ἐπιμίσγεται (*Od.* 6, 205, 241, cf. Hes. *Th.* 802 f.) with (ἐ)μίσγετο (*Il.* 18, 216, *Od.* 15, 430, cf. Hes. *Th.* 56). Given the personification of Asteria, the use is here only slightly different from that in the Odyssey, where it is said of friendly connexions of an individual with some group (cf. the instances cited above). In *H.* 1, 13, 'set foot on' is the best translation: see McLennan, *Zeus*, 42; Zinato, *art. cit.* (*Introd.*, ch. 3.1), 216 n. 18.

40. ἔτ': 'still', referring to the past; a rather exceptional use, cf. *Il.* 9, 106; 11, 710.

καὶ οὐδέπω: not found combined as such in Homer, where the element -δε- still has full force, cf. *Il.* 11, 497, *Od.* 11, 161, etc. Later οὐδέπω simply = οὔπω, cf. A. *Pe.* 814, E. *Md.* 60, Pl. *Symp.* 172c.

ἔκλεο: cf. *Il.* 24, 202 ἔκλε'(ο), from the rare verb κλέομαι = 'to be famous', found in this form in *Od.* 13, 299. In Alexandrian poetry, κλέομαι = 'to be called', by a kind of confusion of κλε(ί)ω and καλέω. See Chantr., *Dict. Ét.* II, 504 f.; Frisk, 869 f.

41 ff. The description of just some day (cf. 46 αὐτῆμαρ) in Asteria's existence as a roaming island is accomplished in one long period, with integral enjambement in seven out of the ten lines (see *Introd.*, ch. 3.3.7); a fine

illustration of the restless wanderings of the island, in a stately manner concluded in 50 by a four-word line with a spondaic fifth foot.

41. The textual problems of this line are still not satisfactorily solved. In using Reiske's correction πολλάκι σε, which eliminates the unlikely combination of ἐκ and ἀπό offered by the MSS, Pfeiffer has reduced the corruption to the single ξάνθοιο. This was explained once by the Scholiast to refer to a certain king of Troezen called Xanthos, clearly a random guess: in the list of kings of Troezen in Paus. 2, 30, 60 no Xanthos appears to be recorded anyhow. Howald-Staiger, too, read Ξάνθοιο, adding in a note that we do not know at all who this person was. Mair, following Wilamowitz (*H* 14, 1879, 166), writes ξάνθοιο and translates 'the town of fair-haired Troezen'; but the epithet is rather flat, and the word-order a bit harsh (cf. however, 126 οὔρεος ἐξ ὑπάτου). Of the emendations, Meineke's ζαθέοιο seems hardly more functional than ξάνθοιο. (For its application in poetry see Kienzle, *o.c.* (1 n.), 80 f.) Schneider proposed ἀπὲξ Ἄνθαο/Ἄνθοιο, Anthes being the founder of Antheia, which was united to Troezen by Pittheus. Objections to this reading are, of course, the awkward accumulation of ἐκ and ἀπέκ, and the fact that the connexion of Anthes with Troezen is too weak to call Troezen his city (cf. Pf. on Call. fr. 703). Yet Barber, *CR* n.s. 4 (1954), 229, thought the proposal worth a place in Pfeiffer's *apparatus*.

I think, however, that Reiske's πολλάκι σε puts us on the wrong track. Since natural word-order suggests that †ξάνθοιο should go with πολίχνης, we need a two-terminal adjective there, and so probably a compound adjective. I fully agree therefore with Giangrande, *H* 94 (1966), 426, that ἀπό should be included in the corruption too, with the pleasant consequence that the MSS text πολλάκις ἐκ then is blameless. For the absence of σε cf. line 44 below; other instances in Schneider *ad loc.* (Another possibility is πολλάκι σ' ἐκ, see Pfeiffer's *apparatus*; for the elision cf. 1.276 οὐδέ σ' Ἐνυώ.) Giangrande further convincingly argues that πολίχνη does not refer to the city of Troezen itself, but to its harbour Kelenderis: a fine instance of Callimachean precision, by the way, since Delos could not reach Troezen proper, as it lies 3 miles inland. For an emendation of †ἀποξάνθοιο Giangrande then thought of ἐπιξύνοιο, a 'debated' Homeric *unicum* (*Il.* 12, 422), explained in Antiquity both as 'collective' and 'adjacent'. Here the first should be intended, Kelenderis being the collective harbour (κοινὰ χώρα) of Troezen and Methana, cf. *IG* IV^2, 76. Since Methana was renamed Arsinoe by Philadelphus, we moreover should have here a fine allusion to an actual historic event.

This proposal, though ingenious at first sight, nevertheless is unacceptable. Apart from the fact that the expression 'collective harbour of Troezen' is strangely elliptical, both supposed allusions to contemporaneous events in

fact are anachronistic. First, *IG* IV², 76, being the text of a treaty by which part of the territory of Methana/Arsinoe and Troezen became communal, only dates from the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor, thus between 163 and 146 B.C. (!): see Fr. Hiller von Gaertringen's note *ad loc.*; G. Welter, *Troizen und Kalaureia* (Berlin 1941), 6f. Second, the founding of Arsinoe, the former Methana, only occurred after 266/265 B.C., when Philadelphus' general Patroklos took the place from Gonatas: see Hiller von Gaertringen, Ἀρχ. Ἐφεμ. (1925-6), 75; Tarn, *CAH* VII, 108; M. Launey, *REA* 47 (1945), 43f. Such a late date for *Delos*, however, is extremely unlikely: see above, *Introd.*, ch. 2.2. Anyhow, in about 274 B.C. the idea 'communal harbour of Troezen' was totally devoid of sense, and Giangrande's proposal therefore must be dismissed.

When we start from †ἀποξανθοιο, yet other words are possible, e.g. ἐπιξείνοιο (for Troezen's hospitality towards the Athenians in 480 B.C. cf. Hdt. 8, 41, 1, Plu. *Them.* 10, 3, etc.; but we rather expect a reference to the mythical era), ἀποξείνοιο (the reference being unclear), and ἁλιζώνοιο (in the same *sedes* in fr. 384, 9, said of Corinth; like Corinth, Troezen lies between two harbours, viz. Psipha and Kelenderis, see Philippson-Kirsten, *Die griechischen Landschaften* III, 1 (1959), 117). Still very attractive to me is Ruhnken's ἁλιξάντοιο 'chafed, worn off by the sea', found in A.P. 6, 89 and 7, 404. Though not attested elsewhere, even ἀποξάντοιο 'ravaged, afflicted' seems possible to me; for ξαίνειν = 'fret, mangle' of waves, cf. *A.P.* 6, 223, A.R. 4, 1266, D.S. 17, 71. The corruption of such an obscure word is natural enough, and the epithet is suitable in a passage where seafaring is concerned. It seems, however, that only a new papyrus could lead us to the truth in this matter.

πολίχνης: once as a proper name in Homer, in the celebrated Megarian variant at *Il.* 2, 557 Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν νέας ἔκ τε Πολίχνης (same *sedes*; note Τροιζῆνα in l. 561). It later occurs in Hdt., Thuc., D.S., etc.; see Giangrande, *art. cit.*, *l.c.*

42. ἐρχόμενοι Ἐφύρηνδε: cf. *Od.* 11, 448* ἐρχόμενοι πολεμόνδε. In the same *sedes* as Ἐφύρηνδε we find Ἰθάκηνδε (*Od.* 1, 163*), Λυκίηνδε (*Il.* 6, 168*), etc.

Ephyra was the name of several cities in Antiquity; according to the Scholiast on *Il.* 6, 152, it refers to Corinth there as well as in l. 210. Aristonicus observed that, when Homer himself mentioned the city, he used the name Κόρινθος, whereas he made his personnages refer to it as Ἐφύρη. The distinction does not hold for Call. here, who no doubt chose the name because of its archaic ring; moreover, he probably knew that in Eumelus' *Corinthiaca* Ephyre was called a daughter of Oceanus and Tethys, which makes Asteria and Ephyre cousins, and Asteria's visit to Corinth a family-call

so to speak. For Eumelus as a source for Call. see Jacoby on 451 *FGH* 1; É. Will, *Korinthiaka* (Paris 1955), 85 f., 145; Capovilla, *RIL* 91 (1957), 750.

Σαρωνικοῦ ἔνδοθι κόλπου: cf. *h.Cer.* 355* θυώδεος ἔνδοθι νηοῦ, Hes. fr. 205, 4 ἐπηράτου ἔνδοθι νήσου. In Homer, ἔνδοθι is adverbial except in *Il.* 17, 287 ἔνδοθι πύργων. The adjunct is best connected with ἐπεσκέψαντο in the next line, as appears from what follows: 'Often sailors watched her within the Saronic Gulf, but on their way back they did not see her on the same spot (αὖθι)'.

The combination Σαρωνικὸς κόλπος is said to be the usual one by Strabo (8, 2, 2), adding τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὸν Σαρωνικὸν πόρον ἢ πέλαγος ὀνομάζουσιν. In 8, 6, 3 the bay is called Σαρωνικὸς πόντος, which is found in E. *Hipp.* 1200; A. *Ag.* 306 has Σαρωνικὸς πορθμός. Homer has κόλπος once for the Argolic Gulf, *Il.* 2, 560.

43. ἐπεσκέψαντο: the compound is found from Tragedy onward (S. *Ai.* 854, etc.); Homer has (ἐ)σκέψατο in *h.Cer.* 246, *h.Merc.* 360, 415, cf. *Od.* 12, 247.

ἐξ 'Εφύρης ἀνιόντες: cf. *Od.* 1, 259 ἐξ 'Εφύρης ἀνιόντα, 10, 332 ἐκ Τροίης ἀνιόντα, etc.; ἐξ 'Εφύρης occurs also in *Il.* 2, 659* = 15, 531*. In all these instances, however, Corinth is never intended (see 42 n.).

44. ἔτ' οὐκ: in this reversed order only sometimes in Tragedy: S. *OT* 24, *Ph.* 1217, *Tr.* 161; see Schwyzer II, 597. For an epic equivalent of the phrase cf. *Od.* 13, 318 οὔ σ' ἔτ' ἔπειτα ἴδον.

αὖθι: the Homeric meaning 'on the same spot' is quite appropriate here (see above, 42 n.); elsewhere Call. uses αὖθι for αὖτις, see Pf. on fr. 197, 49; McLennan, *Zeus*, 110.

44 f. σὺ δὲ στεινοῖο παρ' ὀξὺν / ἔδραμες etc.: 'but you ran along the swift strait of the narrow Euripus flowing with a loud noise'. The word-order (adj. 1 – adj. 2 – verb – subst. 1 – subst. 2) is substantially the same as in the 'golden' hexameter of l. 14, only here spread over two enjambed lines. This intricate order may be intended as an illustration of the turbulence in the Euboean straits, for a description of which see Philippson, *o.c.* (41 n.), 553 ff., 605; Gow-Page, *Garland* II, 119 (on *A.P.* 9, 73).

στεινοῖο: στε(ι)νός is common in Ionic and Attic poetry and prose; in Homer it is found only as a prefix in στεινωπός. See Schmitt, *Nom.* 54 n. 17.

ὀξὺν: the reference will be to the swiftness of the stream in the Euripus, a use for which only remote parallels exist, viz. A. Ag. 1389 and S. *Ant.* 1238, both said of a stream of blood. But ὀξύς seems regularly to have been felt as interchangeable with ὠκύς, cf. e.g. E. *Andr.* 106 ~ *Hcld.* 290: see Zinato, *art. cit.* (39 n.), 225 ff.

45. ἔδραμες: for a comparable use of τρέχειν of ships cf. Theogn. 856

ὥσπερ κεκλιμένη ναῦς παρὰ γῆν ἔδραμεν (Homer has θέειν in such a case); unless Call. imagines the nymph Asteria to be walking through the sea. But προσενήξαο (47) and ἐπέπλεες (53) suggest otherwise.

Εὐρίποιο πόρον: cf. *Il.* 2, 592* Ἀλφειοῖο πόρον, but there referring to a ford, as elsewhere in Homer (but cf. *Od.* 12, 259). Here Εὐρ. πόρον virtually = Εὔριπον, as in Hes. *Th.* 292 πόρον Ὠκεανοῖο = Ὠκεανόν, cf. Pi. *O.* 1, 92 Ἀλφεοῦ πόρῳ, A. *Pe.* 493 Ἀξιοῦ πόρον, *Ch.* 366 Σκαμάνδρου πόρον, etc. — Εὔριπος first in *h.Ap.* 222.

καναχηδὰ ῥέοντος: a *flosculus hesiodicus* (Kuiper) from *Th.* 367* ποταμοὶ καναχηδὰ ῥέοντες; καναχηδά was already borrowed by Pindar (*N.* 8, 15). See Schmitt, *Nom.* 83 n. 2, with literature.

According to Reinsch-Werner, *Call. hes.*, 237 f., Call. in this line aptly combines references to three of his great examples, viz. the Homeric hymn to Apollo by the use of Εὐρίποιο, and Hesiod and Pindar by καναχηδά. I very much doubt whether it worked that way. The quotation of Hesiod is obvious, of course, but it is hard to believe that Call. wrote Εὐρίποιο because it occurred somewhere in the Homeric Hymn (l. 222); the name is far too common (add Pi. fr. 52k 49, *P.* 11, 22, Simon. fr. 87, 2 D. and Thuc. 7, 29 f. to the examples cited by *LSJ*) to have been felt as a special reference to the Hymn to Apollo by the Alexandrian audience. A reference to Pindar's 8th Nemean is certainly not intended, the context there being completely different (Λυδίαν μίτραν καναχηδὰ πεποικιλμέναν). And can we be so sure, that the word did not occur in other epic poetry now lost to us, too?

46. Χαλκιδικῆς ... ἁλός: according to B. Ehrlich, *Bresl. phil. Abh.* 7 (1894), 3, 30 ff., the sea near Chalcidice should be meant here, ἀνηναμένη ('disdaining') being an allusion to the hostile relationship between Philadelphus and Antigonos Gonatas, whose king's land Chalcidice probably was (see *CAH* VII, 199). At the time of composition of *Delos*, however (*ca.* 274 B.C., see *Introd.*, ch. 2.2)., there was not yet question of open hostility between the two kings (see Will I, 190 f.); in lines 42 f., Call. accordingly has no difficulty in mentioning Corinth, which was one of Antigonos' strongholds in Greece (Will, 194 ff.). In fact, Χαλκιδικῆς no doubt refers to Chalcis on Euboea. Asteria drifts into the Euripus, but, since an island of even her small size could not possibly pass the 36-yard channel near Chalcis (a quite plausible consideration for a Hellenistic poet), she turns back, using the flux and reflux of the Euripus for her trip. (For Asteria drifting helplessly on the streams of the sea cf. lines 193 f.) Αὐτῆμαρ is another instance of Callimachean precision, since the current in the strait altered several times a day. Also with a view to Asteria's further route through the Mediterranean (Cape Sunium, Chios, Samos) the southern bay of Euboea is a better starting-point than Chalcidice.

The description of the route Euboea-Attica-Cyclades prepares for 197 ff., where Asteria, coming from the North (Euboea), meets Leto who is approaching from the direction of Cos on the spot where Delos lies now. In that passage the route described is functional and almost imposes itself; here we are being prepared for the fact that it was a quite natural way for Asteria to go (cf. l. 41 πολλάκι). For Χαλκιδικός = 'of Chalcis' cf. Alc. Z 34, 7, Hdt. 7, 185, Ar. *Eq.* 237, etc.

αὐτῆμαρ: elsewhere only in Homer (*Il.* 1, 81; 18, 454, *Od.* 3, 311), the first and last syllable always bearing the ictus, which is not the case here.

ἀνηναμένη: for ἀναίνομαι 'refuse, turn your back on' with the accusative cf. *Il.* 9, 679, *Od.* 10, 297, etc. Forms of the verb occur regularly in this *sedes* in epic, see *LfgrE s.v.* The aorist participle is found only here.

ἁλὸς ὕδωρ: not found as a combination in early epic, but cf. ἁλμυρὸν ὕδωρ *Od.* 4, 511 *al.*, Στυγὸς ὕδωρ *Il.* 14, 271, *h.Ap.* 85 *al.*, and ἁλὸς ἄχνην / -ῃ *Il.* 4, 426; 5, 403, πόντος ἁλός *Il.* 21, 59, etc. — For the hiatus before ἁλός see *Introd.*, ch. 4.4.4.

47. μέσφ' ἐς: another unattested combination. Μέσφα = 'until' in *Il.* 8, 508; in *Od.* 19, 223 = 24, 310, some MSS have μεσφ' ὅτε instead of ἐξ οὗ. For the combination cf. μέχρι εἰς Xen. *An.* 6, 4, 26, μέχρι πρός Pl. *Ti.* 25b, and ἔστε ἐπί / εἰς in Xen., Arr., and inscriptions.

'Αθηναίων ... Σούνιον ἄκρον: cf. *Od.* 3, 278 Σούνιον ... ἄκρον 'Αθηνέων (*vv.ll.* 'Αθηναίων, 'Αθηνῶν), Ar. *Nub.* 401 Σούνιον, ἄκρον 'Αθηνέων, cf. S. *Ai.* 1219 ff., E. *Cycl.* 293. For 'Αθηναίων cf. *Il.* 2, 551*; 13, 196*, Sim. fr. 9. 2*, Hes. fr. 280, 26*, *al.*

Cape Sunium is the traditional place where Leto 'boards' Delos, cf. Hyper. *Del.* 13, Ael. Arist. *Panath.* 12, Men. Rhet. III p. 439 Spengel. In 197 ff. below, the place of 'embarkation' is not specified, but is certainly not Attica, Leto approaching from the direction of Cos.

προσενήξαο: the compound first here; cf. above, 21 n. For ἐς going with it cf. e.g. προσνίσσεσθαι ἐς in *Il.* 9, 381.

48. Χίος: here without any particular praise, as in *h.Ap.* 38 (καὶ Χίος, ἣ νήσων λιπαρωτάτη εἰν ἁλὶ κεῖται. Chios was said to be a daughter of Oceanus (cf. Io of Chius, fr. 16 v. Blumenthal), and so belongs to the 'generation' of Asteria and Ephyra; again, Asteria's visit to Chios may be interpreted as a family-call: see above, 42 n.

νήσοιο διάβροχον ὕδατι μαστόν / Παρθενίης: 'the water-drenched 'curvature' of the island of Parthenie'. The play with the double meaning of μαστός, 'breast' and 'hill', is a well-known one, cf. Pi. *P.* 4, 8, where Battus is told to found a city ἐν ἀργινοέντι μαστῷ of Libya, and possibly Archestratus in Athen. 111 f. ἐν Λέσβῳ κλείνης 'Ερέσου περικύμονι μαστῷ, see P. Brandt, *Corpusculum poesis epicae graecae ludibundae*, I (Leipzig 1888), 141 f., 171;

cf. also Jebb on S. *OC* 681 στερνούχου χθονός. Here the words διάβροχον ὕδατι, possibly inspired as to the form by E. *Ba.* 1051 ἄγκος ... ὕδασι διάβροχον, and as to the meaning by the epithet ὑδρηλή which Samos bears in *h.Ap.* 41, add to the play, as διάβροχον also applies to a woman's breast. It is possible that the word then hints at some recent observation by the famous physician Herophilus in the field of anatomy, *i.c.* that of the woman's breast, which with its many lacteal vessels may resemble a porous hill also internally. For Herophilus' observation of the lacteals see G. Sarton, *A History of Science: Hellenistic Science and Culture in the Last Three Centuries B.C.* (Cambridge (Mass.) 1959), 131. For Herophilus and Call. see H. Opperman, "Herophilos bei Kallimachos", *H* 60 (1925), 14ff.; G. W. Most, "Callimachus and Herophilus", *H* 109 (1981), 193ff.; Fraser, *PA* I, 356, 370.

Διάβροχος is mainly Attic (Eur., Ar., Thuc., etc.); as an epithet of γῆ it is found in Arist. *SE* 167b 7 and Hipp. *Aer.* 10, 44. For the dative of cause going with it see 23 n.

49. Παρθενίης: Parthenia was the old name for Samos when the Carians lived there, cf. Arist. fr. 570 Rose; the river Imbrasos was called Parthenios at the time. See Pf. on fr. 599; *Suppl. Hell.*, p. 220.

The island was an important Ptolemaic naval-base almost throughout the 3rd century B.C.; see Tarn-Griffith, *HC*, 181; Fraser, *PA* II, 462 n. 11.

οὔπω γὰρ ἔην Σάμος: for this kind of parenthesis, generally with negation, cf. *H.* 3, 1 Ἄρτεμιν (οὐ γὰρ ἐλαφρὸν ἀειδόντεσσι λαθέσθαι) and the conspicuous sequence in 260ff., see Bornmann *ad loc.*; Diehl, *Latv. Univ. Raksti* 14'(1926), 8. For instances in older literature (including *Il.* 4, 286, Tyrt. fr. 11, 1, Hippon. fr. 36, 1) see E. Schwyzer, "Die Parenthese im engern und im weitern Sinne", *SbBerl.* (1939), 6, 14ff., proving special Alexandrian interest in the phenomenon of parenthesis from *Schol.* A on *Il.* 2, 333ff. — In Homer we only find οὐ γάρ πω, *Il.* 1, 154, 262, *al.*

Schneider (p. 266) translates '*nondum vivebat Samos*', S. being Ancaeus' son, after whom the island was renamed later on, cf. Asius in Paus. 7, 4, 1; F. Vian, *Apollonius de Rhodes, Argonautiques* I (Paris 1976), 248. In Schneider's view, then, Asteria's visit should have taken place in the period when Ancaeus already ruled the island (cf. l. 50), his son not having been born yet. Such a subtle indication of time, however, is rather senseless here, since Call. is describing just some day (cf. 46 αὐτῆμαρ) in Asteria's existence in the mythical era (cf. also 41 πολλάκι). It is more natural to interpret the words as indicating a *metonomasia* ('for she was not yet called Samos'), a common feature in Call. See above, 37 n.

ἧχί σε νύμφαι: cf. *Od.* 13, 107* ἔνθα τε νύμφαι, *h.Merc.* 229* ἔνθα τε νύφη, Call. *H.* 1, 10* ἧχι μάλιστα. Ἦχι is a homerism, cf. *Il.* 3, 326*, 11, 76*, *Od.* 6, 94* and 13, 553*.

49 f. νύμφαι ... Μυκαλησσίδες: the nymphs of Mycale, the promontory on the Asian coast opposite Samos, can easily be imagined to have been at home on the island as well. Both names are found alongside in one line in *h.Ap.* 41 (καὶ Σάμος ὑδρηλὴ Μυκάλης τ' αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα). In historical times, Mycale for a long period formed part of Samian territory; see E. Meyer, *Die Grenzen der hellenistischen Staaten* (Zürich-Leipzig 1925), 80 f. In older times, Carians are said to have inhabited the island, cf. *Il.* 2, 867, Strab. 6, 197.

For nymphs, especially island-nymphs, as the 'natural' company of Asteria see above, 17 f. note.

50. The description of Asteria's wanderings is concluded by a stately four-word line (see E. Fränkel, *Noten zu den Argonautika des Apollonios*, München 1968, 10) with a spondaic fifth foot (see ch. 4.1.3), a unique combination in this hymn (cf. *H.* 1, 41; 3, 108, Arat. 401, etc.).

γείτονες: in Homer, γείτων only refers to male persons; the use as a qualification for neighbouring countries separated by water is specifically Tragic, cf. A. *Pe.* 67, *Se.* 486, E. *Ion* 294, *IT* 1258, 1451, etc.; cf. also S. *Tr.* 215 γείτονάς τε Νύμφας.

'Αγκαίου: two persons bearing this name occur in the Iliad (2, 609 has 'Αγκαίοιο in this *sedes*), both different from the king of Samos intended here. Asius fr. 7 Kinkel (= Paus. 7, 4, 1) mentions the last as a son of Poseidon and king of the Leleges; his son Samos caused the *metonomasia* of the island, while his daughter Parthenope had an affair with Apollo (!), see *LfgrE s.v.*

Μυκαλησσίδες: not found elsewhere, except in Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Μυκαλησσός. For Callimachus' extensive use of nouns with -ιδ- suffix see Schmitt, *Nom.* 47 f.

ἐξείνισσαν: for the spondaic fifth foot cf. ἐξείνισσα in *Od.* 19, 194* = 24, 271*.

51. ἡνίκα: 'when', Homeric *unicum* in *Od.* 22, 198, there with a present indicative, as also in Theogn. 1275; it is only afterwards that it is common with past tenses of the indicative, see *LSJ.*

The line is a foreward reference to 249 ff.; cf. below, 106 n.

'Απόλλωνι: 24 n.

γενέθλιον οὖδας: 'soil to be born on'. Γενέθλιος, absent from Homer (but cf. γενέθλη in *Il.* 2, 857), is frequent in Tragedy (A. *Ag.* 503, *Eu.* 7, E. *Or.* 89, etc.) and especially common in inscriptions referring to birthdays. For the combination with οὖδας cf. A. *Eu.* 293 Τρίτωνος ἀμφὶ χεῦμα γενεθλίου πόρου ('the water in/from which Athena τριτογένεια was born').

ὑπέσχες: the literal 'you held underneath' is quite appropriate here; cf. *h.Ap.* 118 μείδησε δὲ γαῖ' ὑπένερθεν.

In Homer, ἀν-/ἐπ-/κατέσχε(ν) and the like are frequently found at the end of the line.

52. τοῦτό τοι ἀντημοιβόν: cf. *Il.* 22, 290 τοῦτό τοι ἀντὶ .... Τοῦτο ... οὔνομ' refers to 40 Δῆλος, which is rather far back; but the οὐκέτ' ἄδηλος of the next line immediately corrects a possible misunderstanding. That ἀντημοιβός is not further attested in our sources may be accidental; cognate words known are ἀνταμείβομαι (Archil.), ἀνταμοιβά (Pind.), ἐπημοιβός (Hom.) and ἐξημοιβός (*Od.* 8, 249*). See Schmitt, *Nom.* 143 n. 2.

ἁλίπλοοι: 15 n. For the sailors' role in the namegiving cf. Pi. fr. 52h, 48 καλέοντί μιν 'Ορτυγίαν ναῦται πάλαι.

οὔνομ': in Homer, words with metrical lengthening are not found elided, see W. Schulze, *Quaestiones Epicae* (Güterslohn 1892), 203, 408; W. F. Wyatt, *Metrical Lengthening in Homer* (Rome 1969), 241. But that is no reason, of course, to write οὔνομα θέντο with Fr. Beneke, *Beiträge zur Metrik der Alexandriner* (Berlin 1883-4), 22. For ὄνομα τίθεσθαι cf. e.g. *Od.* 18, 5 'Αρναῖος δ' ὄνομ' ἔσκε· τὸ γὰρ θέτο πότνια μήτηρ, cf. 19, 406. For the verse-ending cf. *Il.* 2, 750* οἰκί' ἔθεντο, 9, 232* αὖλιν ἔθεντο, Hes. fr. 204, 95* θυμὸν ἔθεντο, etc.

53. οὕνεκεν: unepic form (Homer has οὕνεκα, *Il.* 1, 11, etc.), first in Pindar (*P.* 9, 93, *I.* 7, 12), cf. Breitenstein, *Megara*, 88. Οὕνεκα is the common conjunction used in explaining a proper name, see West on Hes. *Th.* 144f.

ἄδηλος: first in Hes. *Op.* 6; see West's note. — The reference is not to Delos' invisibility as Mair's 'obscure' suggests (cf. Cahen, *Comm.*, 161), the island being sufficiently conspicuous to seafarers according to l. 43 (ναῦται ἐπεσκέψαντο, *sc.* σε), but to the irregularity of her appearance in the Mediterranean: 'You did not float upon the waves anymore in an uncertain way, getting properly fixed in the sea.'

For the aetiological play Δῆλος ~ (ἄ)δηλος cf. Pi. fr. 52h 47, Arist. fr. 488 Rose, Schol. A.R. 1, 308, *Et. Magn.* 264, 22; Cook, *Zeus* III 2, 985; Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 146.

For οὐκέτ' ἄδηλος cf. *Il.* 10, 118 οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτός, *Od.* 9, 300 οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτῶς, and below, l. 273 οὐκέτι πλαγκτή. For the negative mode of expression see above, 16 n.

ἐπέπλεες: 36 n.

53f. ἀλλ' ἐνὶ πόντου / κύμασι: cf. *Od.* 16, 367 ἀλλ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ, 5, 325 ἐνὶ κύμασι, Hes. *Op.* 691 πόντου μετὰ κύμασι. The genitive after ἐνί brings on violent enjambement, which is especially frequent after the bucolic caesura; see above ch. 3.3.3 ff.

The waves are an essential feature in the tale of the wanderings: Delos, once φορητὰ κυμάτεσσι (Pi. fr. 33d, 1 f.), now becomes *saevis tranquilla in undis*: 'amidst the waves of the Aegean Sea she planted the roots of her feet'. Κύμασι has been suspected, because waves seem less apt to receive the 'roots' of Asteria's feet: hence Meineke's πυθμέσιν or ἕρμασιν, Kuiper's κεύθεσιν.

The same inexactitude, however, occurs in l. 13 πόντῳ ἐνεστήρικται, and both should rather be valued as a slight paradox.

54. ποδῶν ... ῥίζας: cf. 35 ἐρρίζωσε. According to Pindar (fr. 33d), Delos came to rest on four pillars, founded on a base of adamant; Call. humorously keeps to the idea of Delos as a nymph, who at Apollo's birth firmly plants her feet on the sea-bottom (cf. also l. 192 πόδες δέ οἱ οὐχ ἑνὶ χώρῃ). The genitive ποδῶν is explicative, unless by 'roots of the feet' the toes are meant, clawing in the earth for a firm footing. Cf. *Il.* 12, 132 ff., where two Greek warriors keeping their ground at the camp's gate are compared with oaks ῥίζῃσιν μεγάλῃσι διηνεκέεσσ' ἀραρυῖαι.

ἐνεθήκαο: cf. *Il.* 10, 31; 14, 187, Hes. *Sc.* 128 θήκατο, *Th.* 175*, ὑπεθήκατο, Theoc. 29, 18 *al.* ἐθήκαο. See McLennan, *Zeus*, 105 (not citing this instance).

55-274: *Origin of the Apollo-cult on Delos.*

55-69: Wrath of Hera. 'Nor did you tremble before Hera, who especially owed Leto a grudge, because of Apollo's future pre-eminence over her own son Ares. So she tried to thwart Leto's childbirth, she herself guarding heaven, while Ares kept watch over the continent, and Thaumas' daughter over the islands, threatening all cities Leto headed for.'

While in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo Hera's wrath only played a minor part, not exploding until the final stage of events, viz. at the beginning of Leto's labour, which was prolonged into nine days and nine nights because of it (91 ff., cf. esp. 100 ζηλοσύνῃ), it stands out in *Delos* as the main motive of the whole episode to come, the binding element of the elaborate account of Leto's wanderings with its many digressions and its wealth of geographic detail.

This masterly innovation was formerly ascribed by scholars either to the poet's own invention (see Wilamowitz, *HD* II, 66; Bethe, *H* 71, 1936, 354) or to the imitation of an earlier poem (see Wehrli, *RE* Suppl. V, col. 568, supposing the source to have been some unknown poet from the seventh century B.C.) or myth (see Secci, *o.c.* (20 n.), 819, suggesting the influence of the Io story; cf. also Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 148 n. 2). Recently it has become clear that the device will have been due to a combination of the two, since Call. seems to have adapted to his own use Antimachus' version of the myth: cf. Philod. *Piet.* fr. XLVI B, 966-975: ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὕμ[ν]οι[ς Ὅ]μηρος [ἡ]μέ[ρας ἀλγ]ῆσαι κ[αὶ] νύκ[τας ἐ]ννέα [τὴν] Λη[τὼ πρὶν] τεκεῖν φη[σιν. Κ]αλλίμαχο[ς δὲ τὰ] παρ' Ἀντιμά[χῳ με]ταλαβὼν ἔγρ[αψε]ν [ὡ]ς οὐδὲ [τῆς] Ἥρ[ας] δ[ιέφυ]γε τὸ [μῖσος, see A. Henrichs, *GRBS* 13 (1972), 72 ff. (= *Suppl. Hell.* fr. 78), with Giangrande's critical remarks in *H* 102 (1974), 117 ff. Unfortunately it is impossible to establish what in Callimachus' account is due to

Antimachos, and what to his own invention; but Wilamowitz' remark (*o.c.*, *l.c.*) that Call. here πολλὰ ἀμάρτυρα ἀείδει, is probably quite to the point.

55. οὐδ' Ἥρην ... ὑπέτρεσας: it is hard to choose between 'not even before Hera did you tremble' and 'you did not tremble at all before Hera', the well-known emphatic use of οὐδέ. See Denn., 196 ff.; Pfeiffer, *Index Vocab. s.v.* (*'ne ... quidem'*).

κοτέουσαν: without complement, as in *Il.* 23, 391 ἡ δὲ μετ' Ἀδμήτου υἱὸν κοτέουσα βεβήκει, tersely introducing the wrath-of-Hera motif. In Hes. *Th.* 315*, κοτέουσα is said of Hera being in a fury with Heracles; see Reinsch-Werner, *Call. hes.*, 319 f.

ὑπέτρεσας: with an accusative only in *Il.* 17, 587* οἷον δὴ Μενέλαον ὑπέτρεσας.

ἡ μὲν ἀπάσαις: cf. *Il.* 1, 531* *al.* ἡ μὲν ἔπειτα, 15, 625 ἡ δέ τε πᾶσα. In early epic if the substantive to go with ἅπας follows, it generally occupies the beginning of the next line, the only exception being *Il.* 11, 847 f. ἡ οἱ ἀπάσας / ἔσχ' ὀδύνας. See *LfgrE s.v.* ἅπας, and *Introd.*, ch. 3.3.5.

For the device 'all ..., but especially ...' see above, 2 n. (ἡ μὲν ἅπασαι, same *sedes*). Μέν of course goes with ἀπάσαις, cf. 57 Λητοῖ δέ; for this place of μέν see Denn., 317 f.

56. δεινόν: common adverb with notions of sound, cf. *Il.* 4, 420 δεινὸν δ' ἔβραχε, 20, 56 δεινὸν δὲ βρόντησε, *Od.* 12, 242 δεινὸν ἐβεβρύχειν, Ar. *Ran.* 680 δεινὸν ἐπιβρέμεται, etc.

ἐπεβρωμᾶτο: a striking word, the compound being an absolute *hapax eiremenon* in Greek, and the simplex βρωμάομαι occurring only twice ('bray' of an ass in Ar. *Ve.* 618, 'bellow' of the stag or hart in Arist. *HA* 579a 1, see *LSJ*). Verbs denoting animal sounds are more often used to describe the anger of men or gods, as Ernesti already remarked: see *LSJ s.v.* βρυχάομαι, ὑλακτέω and μηκάομαι; Schneider, 266; Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 147 n. 3. Here, perhaps the association of Hera with a cow (cf. the Homeric epithet βοῶπις, on which see E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen*, München 1969, 44) might have suggested the word, though in that case μυκάομαι would have been a more obvious choice. Anyhow, the heavy word is very apt to illustrate Hera's anger.

For βρέμω / βρωμάομαι cf. τρέπω / τρωπάω, etc., see Chantr. I, 358; *id.*, *Dict. Ét.*, 194A; cf. also in this hymn forms like περιτροχόωσιν (28), ἀπετρώπων (69) and ἐπιπλώουσα (213). I fail to understand Schneider's thesis that the verb was not formed by analogy, but that it has to be connected with Hesychius' βρώμη· τροφή, so that βρωμᾶσθαι than should be = τροφῆς δεῖσθαι (*sic*). Faber proposed ἐπεβριμᾶτο = *'minitabatur'*, found in the *Corp. Gloss. Lat.*, but there is no reason, of course, to replace a curious, but otherwise comprehensible word by some obscure gloss.

λεχωίσιν: this extended form of λεχώ 'woman in childbed' is known to us only from Hellenistic literature: Call. *H.* 3, 127 (see Bornmann's note), 4, 124, A.R. 4, 136, *A.P.* 6, 348, 1 (Diodorus); see Schmitt, *Nom.* 26 n. 57. It is impossible to say whether the word was coined by Callimachus, who widely uses words with an -ιδ- suffix; see Schmitt, *o.c.*, 48.

αἵ Διὶ παῖδας: echoes epic clausulae as ἅς Διὶ πατρί in *Il.* 20, 11 and ταὶ Διὶ πατρί in Hes. *Th.* 36.

57. ἐξέφερον: *Il.* 5, 664*, 669*; 21, 451*, but never with the sense 'give birth to', as ἐκφέρειν has in Hp. *Nat. Mul.* 19 (cf. Pl. *Resp.* 461c, Arist. *HA* 577^b 23). For the use of medical terminology and the like in Call. see above, 48 n.

διακριδόν: 'especially', in Homer used twice, with ἄριστος (*Il.* 12, 103*; 15, 108*), cf. Hdt. 4, 53 ἰχθύας τε ἀρίστους διακριδόν. For διακριδόν not connected with a superlative cf. Sem. fr. 7, 71 f. τοῦτο δὴ διακριδὸν / Ζεὺς ἀνδράσι μέγιστον ὤπασεν κακόν (unless διακριδόν has to be taken with μέγιστον).

57 f. οὕνεκα ... ἤμελλεν: cf. *Il.* 11, 54 οὕνεκ' ἔμελλε.

μούνη: *Od.* 23, 227*; for the meaning 'alone' cf. *Il.* 15, 611, *h.Ap.* 97, etc.

58. τεκεῖν ἤμελλεν: cf. *h.Ap.* 100 f. ζηλοσύνῃ ὅτ' ἄρ' υἱὸν ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε / Λητὼ τέξεσθαι καλλιπλόκαμος τότ' ἔμελλεν, and also Hes. *Th.* 478 ἤμελλε τέκεσθαι (referring to Zeus' own birth under difficult circumstances, see Reinsch-Werner, *Call. hes.*, 174 f.), 898 ἤμελλεν τέξεσθαι, 888 f. = *Il.* 19, 98 f. ἔμελλε ... τέξεσθαι.

The line as a whole mainly consists of less common or quite uncommon forms of otherwise ordinary words, see below.

τεκεῖν: in Homer and the Hymns only τεκέειν and τεκέμεν occur, in Hesiod also τέκεσθαι, τεκεῖν being found in Tragedy (A. *Ch.* 527, E. *Md.* 251, *al.*) and Lyric poetry (Pi. *O.* 2, 93, *I.* 8, 33, *al.*).

ἤμελλεν: this form not in Homer, apart from *Il.* 12, 34, where Zenodotus wrote ὣς ἤμελλον instead of ὣς ἄρ' ἔμελλον. Callimachus' use of the form here might be a gesture of acknowledgment to this grammarian's edition (cf. Pfeiffer *ad* fr. 12, 6; *HCS*, 139 f.), but it is otherwise not uncommon in Hesiod (add fr. 54(a)5 to the above-cited instances) and found also in Thgn. 906; cf. McLennan, *Zeus*, 50 f.; H. Erbse, *H* 81 (1953), 163 f. (on A.R. 1, 1309). The construction of μέλλω with an aorist infinitive is rare, the only certain instances being *Il.* 16, 46 and 18, 98; see West on Hes. *Th.* 478.

φιλαίτερον: unepic form, first in Xenophon (*An.* 1, 9, 29), but Callimachus more probably drew here on Philitas, who has φιλαίτατε in fr. 12, 1 (Powell = Küchenmüller); cf. Theoc. 7, 98. For Callimachus' appreciation of Philitas' work see Pfeiffer, *HCS*, 89.

῞Αρεος: far less frequent in early epic than ῞Αρηος (about 1:8, see *LfgrE* col. 1247), and never in this *sedes* there. Ares is only casually mentioned in the Homeric hymn (partaking in festivities on Olympus with Apollo playing the cithara, 200 ff.), but more or less implied by Hera's ζηλοσύνη (l. 100); for Hera as Ares' mother in myth see Pf. on fr. 634.

Though an allegorical intention of *Delos* is to be rejected (cf. also Williams, *Apollo*, 1), it is allowed, I think, and certainly very tempting to suppose that Call., in describing Leto's son Apollo as dearer to Zeus than Hera's son Ares, intended some subtle reference to the fact that Philadelphus, son of Berenice, as a successor to the throne was preferred by Ptolemy Soter to Keraunos, his son by his first wife Eurydice. The resemblance between Keraunos, "a violent and vicious man whose life was stained with horrid crime" (G. H. Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens*, Baltimore 1932, 103), ruling for some time over Thrace and Macedon, and Ares, who was put in full panoply on the Thracian Haemus by our poet, strongly corroborates this idea. (For the parallel Apollo ~ Philadelphus in the hymn see *Introd.*, ch. 2.1.2 ff.). Anyhow, Most's idea (*o.c.* (48 n.), 190 f. note 7) that "Ares' exclusion from the circle of Apollo's friends may be related to Callimachus' rejection of martial epic as appropriate material for his poetry" is not attractive, since it is not so much the bellicose aspect of epic poetry that is rejected by our poet, as its elements of unity, completeness and size (see Pfeiffer, *HCS*, 137). Moreover, literary theories seem to have no part to play yet in *Delos*. See above, 31 n. (on the Telchines).

υἷα: *Od.* 20, 35* and six more times in Homer (once in *h.Ap.* 206), against about 170 times υἱόν (see Gehring's *Index Homericus*, 809 f.).

59. τῷ ῥα καί: 'so, consequently', cf. *Il.* 13, 356*, 514*; 15, 194*, *Od.* 8, 226*, Call. *H.* 3, 251*. For τῷ/τώ see above, 15 n.

σκοπιὴν ἔχεν: *Od.* 8, 302*; cf. also below, l. 126 σκοπιὴν ἔχει. The absence of any epithet with σκοπιήν suggests that Call. here did not "express his opinion" on the celebrated phrase οὐ δ' ἀλαοσκοπιὴν εἶχε (*Il.* 10, 515, etc.; for Zenodotus' and Aristarchus' readings see West on Hes. *Th.* 466), as Kuiper (p. 125) states.

αἰθέρος εἴσω: for the αἰθήρ as the abode of the gods cf. *Il.* 5, 50; 14, 258; *h.Cer.* 67, *al.*; see *LfgrE s.v.* Hera's intention will have been also to keep an eye on Zeus, 'living in the aether' according to *Il.* 2, 412 and *Od.* 15, 523. From lines 219 ff. it appears that Hera is simply sitting on her throne, though: see below, 124 n.

Call. generally has εἴσω with the accusative after verbs of motion, with the genitive after verbs of rest: see McLennan, *Zeus* 65. In Homer, the genitive is found only in *Od.* 8, 290 (7, 135* δώματος εἴσω is dubious), implying movement. With verbs of rest it is found in Tragedy, cf. A. *Se.* 232 and S. *Tr.* 202, with Jebb's note.

60. σπερχομένη μέγα δή τι καὶ οὐ φατόν: 'being in a terrible and unspeakable rage', an extremely strong expression, evidently to stress the overall importance of Hera's rage for a long episode to come. "The poet gives us no reasonable chance to forget Hera's hostility." (Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 147). — For the combination cf. Hes. *Th.* 310 ἀμήχανον, οὔ τι φατειόν (cf. *Sc.* 161), *Sc.* 230 ἄπλητοί τε καὶ οὐ φαταί, S. *Ph.* 756 δεινὸν γὰρ οὐδὲ ῥητόν; cf. also *H.* 5, 58 πουλύ τι καὶ πέρι δὴ φίλατο.

σπερχομένη: *Od.* 13, 115*, but the sense there is 'being in a hurry', as generally in Homer, with the exception of *Il.* 24, 248 σπερχομένοιο γέροντος (where the explanation of Schol. B *ad loc.*, πρὸς τὸ θυμῶδες, is preferable to Leaf's 'the old man in his haste'). Σπέρχεσθαι 'to be angry' further occurs in Herodotus, Pindar and Euripides, see *LSJ.* — The beginning of the line is the statutory place for participle forms of this verb in Homer; see also below, l. 158.

μέγα δή τι: also in l. 189, *epigr.* 43, 5, *H.* 5, 122, A.R. 1, 253; 3, 637, and Mosch. 146 (with Bühler's note). In earlier literature we only find μέγα τι (Pl. *Phlb.* 66b) and the combination μέγας + δή, see Denn., 204 ff.; on μέγα τι cf. also Williams, *Apollo* 19.

φατόν: first in Hes. *Op.* 3, see West's note; elsewhere it is found always with a negative, cf. *Sc.* 230, Parm. *fr.* 8, 8, Pi. *O.* 6, 37 (χόλον οὐ φατόν), *I.* 7, 37, etc.

εἶργε δὲ Λητώ: cf. *h.Ap.* 125* χαῖρε δὲ Λητώ. As to the place from which Leto is shut off, the reader can only for the moment think of heaven, as the previous line suggests; later he is informed that she is shut off from all places on earth too by Hera's two special assistants, Ares and Iris.

In early epic, only the uncontracted ἔεργε is found (*Il.* 8, 213; 14, 349, *al.*); but *Il.* 23, 72 has εἴργουσι. For εἶργε cf. S. *El.* 722, *Ph.* 569, E. *Hcld.* 622, *al.*

61. τειρομένην ὠδῖσι: an essential piece of information for the tale to come: Leto is in labour, and Apollo about to appear. The reader was more or less prepared for this situation by the word λεχωίσιν in l. 56, and by the more general remarks on the birth-theme in l. 6 (λοῦσέ τε καὶ σπείρωσε) and 10 (τιθήνη). The situation is the very one, of course, for a good storyteller to choose: with the tension increasing, the conflict between Hera and Leto is about to burst out.

For τειρομένην cf. below, 210 f.* ἀμηχανίης ὑπὸ λυγρῆς / τειρομένη, *H.* 3, 21 f.* ὑπ' ὠδίνεσσι γυναῖκες / τειρόμεναι. The *sedes* is the regular one in Homer, cf. also *Il.* 8, 363; 11, 283, 801, etc. — Ὠδίς is an *unicum* in *Il.* 11, 271 (Εἰλείθυιαι) πικρὰς ὠδῖνας ἔχουσαι, 'having bitter labour pains', but Call. here more probably echoes *h.Ap.* 91 f. Λητὼ δ' ... ἀέλπτοις / ὠδίνεσσι πέπαρτο. For the unepic ὠδῖσι cf. Pi. *P.* 9, 85, E. *Su.* 920.

δύω δέ οἱ εἵατο φρουροί: cf. *Il.* 18, 523* (509*) δύω σκοποὶ (στρατοὶ) ἥατο

λαῶν, and also 5, 10* δύω δέ οἱ, *Od.* 13, 109 δύω δέ τέ οἱ. For εἵατο / ἥατο see Schwyzer I, 679.

In poetry, φρουρός and derivatives are only found three times (E. *Ion* 22, *Rhes.* 506 and *fr. eleg. adesp.* 26 West), whereas it is common in Attic prose (Plat., Thuc., Xen.), cf. Schmitt, *Nom.*, 146 n. 63.

62. γαῖαν ἐποπτεύοντες: cf. *Od.* 16, 140* ἔργα ἐποπτεύεσκε, Hes. *Op.* 767* ἔργα τ' ἐποπτεύειν, both *hapax legomena* (but cf. *Il.* 10, 451 ἠὲ διοπτεύσων).

ὁ μὲν πέδον ἠπείροιο: the person intended and the function of the accusative only become clear in l. 64 θοῦρος Ἄρης ἐφύλασσε; at first hearing, the listener will have been tempted to take πέδον as a further object of ἐποπτεύοντες. As a result, our MSS have ἐφύλασσε *δὲ* σύν in l. 64, see below. The hyperbaton ὁ μὲν ... θοῦρος Ἄρης is not used here to create an effect of suspense, since after line 58 Ares is the very person to expect as one of Hera's watchmen. — For ὁ μὲν ... ὑψηλῆς κορυφῆς ἔπι ... ἡ δ' ἐπὶ νησάων cf. Hes. *Th.* 632 f. οἱ μὲν ἀφ' ὑψηλῆς Ὄθρυος Τιτῆνες ἀγαυοί, οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο θεοί ....

πέδον ἠπείροιο: cf. *Od.* 5, 402* ξερὸν ἠπείροιο. Πέδον is 'ground, soil' in Homer (*Il.* 13, 796, *Od.* 11, 598, *h.Cer.* 455); the combination πέδον + genitive referring to a plain is current in Tragedy, cf. A. *Se.* 304 γαίας πέδον, 662 πέδον γᾶς (cf. S. *Ai.* 859, E. Ba. 706, *al.*), *Pr.* 734 Εὐρώπης πέδον, E. *Ion* 1585 f. ἠπείροιν δυοῖν / πεδία. For the opposition ἤπειρος-νῆσοι cf. *Il.* 2, 635, *Od.* 13, 235, *al.*, and below, line 267.

63. ἥμενος ... Αἵμου: 'sitting on a high peak of Thracian Haemus.' Wilamowitz wrote ἐπί, taking ὑψηλῆς κορυφῆς as an apposition, "denn ich mochte nicht Genetiv von Genetiv abhängen lassen" (*HD* II, 61 note), while Bornmann (*Dian.* 115) for the same reason supposed Θρήικος Αἵμου to be appositional. Genitive depending on genitive, however, is certainly not uncommon in Greek; see Schwyzer II, 135. In fact it is quite common in comparable descriptions of mountain-tops in early epic, cf. *Il.* 14, 157 f. Ζῆνα ἐπ' ἀκροτάτης κορυφῆς πολυπίδακος Ἴδης / ἥμενον, 16, 297 = Hes. *Sc.* 374 ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀφ' ὑψηλῆς κορυφῆς ὄρεος μεγάλοιο (ὑψ. κορ. in the same *sedes*), and also *Il.* 13, 12, Hes. *Th.* 62, Hdt. 4. 49, etc.

For ἥμενος ... θοῦρος Ἄρης cf. *Il.* 5, 355 f. θοῦρον Ἄρηα ... ἥμενον; participle forms of ἧμαι stand generally at the beginning of the line in early epic. — For ἔπι postpositive cf. *Il.* 21, 454 νήσων ἔπι τηλεδαπάων, *Od.* 3, 17 νήσου ἔπι Ψυρίης; there seems to be no other instance, however, of ἔπι between two substantive + adjective units.

Θρήικος Αἵμου: cf. *H.* 3, 114 Αἵμῳ ἐπὶ Θρήικι. For Thrace as the typical region of Ares cf. *Il.* 13, 301, *Od.* 8, 361, Hdt. 5, 7; Nilsson, *GGR* I, 517. The Haemus is first mentioned in Hecataeus of Milete (fr. 180 Nenci).

Bornmann's note on *H.* 3, 114 is incorrect: there is no such adjective as

Θρηικός, and Θρῆιξ is already Homeric, generally substantival ('a Thracian'), but possibly an adjective in *Il.* 10, 487 (cf. Archil. fr. 42, 1; 93, 6) Θρήικας ἄνδρας. Here the ι counts short, as in Homer, though Hellenistic writers usually scan it long; see *LSJ s.v.* Θρᾷξ; Schmitt, *Nom.* 80, n. 10.

64. θοῦρος Ἄρης: also in *Il.* 5, 507* and 24, 498 (and nine times θοῦρον Ἄρηα, see *LfgrE s.v.* Ἄρης; Gruppe, *Griech. Myth.*, 1382 n. 18). It is quite exceptional for Call. to use a stock Homeric epithet; the only reason I can think of is that the poet thus wanted to indicate clearly that really *the god* himself is meant: cf. B. Mader, *LfgrE,* col. 1265: "θοῦρος Ἄρης mit Ausnahme von Ω 498 Epith. des A. nur bei mythischem Gebrauch." Cf. also the uncommon dual τὼ ἵππω in l. 64, referring to the god's own horses, in contrast with ἵπποι Ἄρηος = 'warhorses' in l. 277 (cf. also l. 173 Κελτὸν ... Ἄρηα).

ἐφύλασσε: *Od.* 2, 346*. — The MSS continue with δὲ σύν, while some have a weak stop after Ἄρης besides. Hence Meineke wrote ἐφύλασσε δ' ἐν, Schneider φυλακῇ δὲ σύν, but Pfeiffer follows another tradition (see his *apparatus*) by skipping δέ, taking πέδον in l. 62 an object with ἐφύλασσε in 64, and not with ἐποπτεύοντες in 62. Thus, the parallel with 66ff. is most satisfying: ὁ μὲν ... κορυφῆς ἔπι ... θοῦρος Ἄρης ἐφύλασσε, ... ἡ δ' ἐπὶ νησάων ... ἧστο κόρη Θαύμαντος.

σὺν ἔντεσι: also in *Il.* 5, 220*; 6, 418*; 13, 331*; 719*; 16, 279*, but never with φυλάσσειν. — The ἔντεα include helmet, corslet, shield and spears, cf. *Il.* 10, 75ff.; Trümpy, *Krieg. Fachausdr.*, *s.v.* Shield and spear are explicitly mentioned in lines 136f.

τὼ δέ οἱ ἵππω: cf. *Il.* 23, 392* αἱ δέ οἱ ἵπποι, 13, 616, *al.* τὼ δέ οἱ ὄσσε. — In Callimachus' hymns, the dual is found only three times (cf. 3, 207; 5, 70); also in his other works, he makes only scant use of it, see Pfeiffer's *Index Rer. Not.*, *s.v. dualis.* Here the dual seems to be applied to denote Ares' own horses, as in *Il.* 5, 356 (cf. Gruppe, *Griech. Myth.*, 1378 n. 7), whereas in l. 277 below ἵπποι Ἄρηος refers to war-horses in general.

65. ἑπτάμυχον βορέαο παρὰ σπέος: 'near the Northwind's cave of the seven recesses.' For Thrace as the proper region of Boreas see above, 26 n.; for his cave cf. S. *Ant.* 983 τηλεπόροις δ' ἐν ἄντροις / τράφη θυέλλαισιν ἐν πατρῴαις / Βορεάς, and see Wernicke, *RE* III, cols. 722f.; Mair on Call. *H.* 4, 65. The reference to the seven recesses is obscure: ἑπτάμυχος occurs earlier as the—equally obscure—title of the book of Pherecydes of Syros, see Kirk-Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers* (Cambridge ²1963), 50; Jannoulides, *Platon* 8 (1956), 84ff. The scholiast's explanation of the epithet as a merely scholarly adornment (= πολύμυχον) is certainly not very satisfying: one has a feeling that there is an extra intention here which escapes our notice. The

number seven is specially associated with Apollo (see below, 251 n.), but that cannot be of any consequence here.

For μυχός as the receding part of a cave cf. *Od.* 5, 226; 9, 236; 13, 363; *h.Ven.* 263. For παρὰ σπέος cf. *Od.* 9, 402* περὶ σπέος, 15, 367* ἀνὰ σπέος, etc.; for the accusative with παρά after verbs of rest see Chantr. II, 122.

ηὐλίζοντο: Homer has αὐλίζεσθαι twice, said of swine (*Od.* 14, 412) and of Helios' cattle (12, 265). In the latter instance, already, the original meaning 'be in the αὖλις' was probably not felt anymore, as was certainly the case later, cf. Hdt. 3, 110, Xen. *An.* 2, 2, 17, etc. — For the spondaic ending of this and the next line see *Introd.*, ch. 4.1.3. For other instances of two or more successive σπονδειάζοντες see McLennan, *Zeus*, 67.

66. A much-discussed line, because of (i) the questionable connection of ἐπί (with νησάων? with ἧστο? with σκοπός?), (ii) the curious ending of νησάων, and (iii) the suspected εὐρειάων. For a fundamental discussion see G. Giangrande, *RhM* 110 (1967), 151 ff., with additions in *Quad. Urb.* 15 (1973), 76 ff.

ἐπί: connected with ἧστο by Pfeiffer, as appears from his *Index Vocab. s.v.* ἔφημαι. Indeed, there are some instances of *tmesis* in this hymn (see 209 n., 234 n.), but it is quite improbable here, since ἐφῆσθαι 'to be seated on' does not give the required sense; see also Schmitt, *Nom.* 145 n. 47.

Giangrande (*art. cit.*, 153 ff.), with an inevitable but futile reference to a supposed *Grammatikerkontroversion* on ἐπίσκοπος in *Il.* 22, 255 and *Od.* 8, 163 (cf. Campbell, *CQ* n. s. 22, 1972, 111), argues that ἐπί goes with σκοπός as a kind of tmesis. According to him, this is "ein geistreicher alexandrinischer Witz", but I am afraid that it will hardly have been recognizable as such for the Alexandrian audience, since such a tmesis with a *noun* is quite uncommon in Greek in general (see Schwyzer II, 426; the instances in Chantr. II, 85, to which G. refers, do not apply at all) and in Callimachus in particular (for one dubious instance see fr. 246, with Pfeiffer's note). Moreover, there is nothing in the word-order that suggests such a combination; on the contrary, the connexion of ἐπί with νησάων before the middle caesura is only natural and satisfying.

In my opinion, Schneider was nearer to the truth in comparing ἡ ἐπὶ νησάων to such titles as ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ('commander of the hoplites'). ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴνου, etc. Giangrande's objection that this would be 'unpoetical' does not hold, cf. the use of the technical prose-word φρουρός in 1. 62. I do not believe, however, that ἡ δ' goes closely with ἐπὶ νησάων, since it is obviously parallel to ὁ μέν in 63; but the meaning 'set over the islands' certainly makes good sense. It should especially be noted that titles of the type referred to by Schneider were common in Alexandria, and regularly so without the article, as ἐπὶ τῶν ἰατρῶν, ἐπὶ τῶν χρειῶν etc., see Fraser, *PA* III,

154 *passim*. A reference to such a title would perhaps have been more sensible for the Alexandrian audience than one to ἐπίσκοπος in *Od.* 8, 163, for which about half a century later Aristophanes of Byzantium would write ἐπί-στροφος (hence Giangrande's 'grammarian's controversy'). So I would translate: 'but she, set over the islands as another watcher ...'; cf. A. *fr.* 316 N. κλῇς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ φύλαξ.

For ὁ μὲν ... ἡ δ' (...) ἑτέρη cf. *Il.* 22, 149 ff. (*Od.* 10, 352, Mimn. fr. 2, 6 f.) ἡ μὲν ... ἡ δ' ἑτέρη, *Il.* 5, 145 f. τὸν μὲν ... τὸν δ' ἕτερον.

νησάων: 'an anomaly, for νῆσος is not an a-stem', as the scholiast neatly remarks. Giangrande here ingeniously argues that it alludes to *Il.* 21, 454 ≅ 22, 45 νήσων ἔπι τηλεδαπάων where the 'city-editions' have θηλυτεράων, meaning 'fertile', of course; but Call., taking the word literally, should have made the *Unwort* νησάων, because of the fact that a female word must have a female ending. Now no doubt Call. will have known Protagoras' theory on the correctness of gender, mocked at in Aristophanes' *Clouds* (cf. Pfeiffer, *HCS*, 38), but I sincerely doubt whether νησάων is a formation after the manner of ἀλεκτρύαινα (*Nub.* 666), for one thing because if it were a mere joke, it would not have been repeated in l. 275 of this hymn as well as in Aet. *fr.* 67, 8. Moreover, comparable *Unwörter* are known from Callimachus (and other poets as well), such as Κρητάων, γυπάων, μοτάων and others, listed in Pfeiffer's note on fr. 786. As Pf. states, influence of epic forms like ἑάων and κυανεάων (Hes. *Sc.* 7, with Russo's note) is probable; cf. also Schwyzer I, 559. That Call. made this curious form with the very word νῆσος may have been due not only to its feminine gender, but also to the constant personification of all localities, and of Asteria/Delos especially; the sound of *Od.* 14, 199* Κρητάων ... εὐρειάων may have played a part as well.

σκοπός: fem. also in *Od.* 22, 396 (cf. Theoc. 6, 10, with Gow's note), elsewhere masc.; in the same *sedes* in *Od.* 4, 524 and 22, 156. Hesiod uses the word to denote Argus, sent by Hera to keep watch on Io (fr. 294, 1).

αἰπειάων: Pfeiffer here adopts the apparent text of P. Bodl., being the oldest (V/VI A.D., see Pf., *Proleg.* LII) and the *lectio difficilior*, since αἰπύς does not occur elsewhere in Call. Αἰπειάων is not found in this form in early epic, which for Call is almost a recommendation, but as an epithet it does not add much to the sense. The only epic instance of αἰπύς said of an island is *Il.* 9, 668 Σκῦρον ... αἰπεῖαν.

The MSS-reading εὐρειάων may have been written (either by Call. or by a later scribe) as an echo of *Od.* 14, 199 = 16, 62, where Κρητάων ... εὐρειάων is metrically parallel to νησάων ... εὐρειάων. The epithet has been explained in several ways:

(1) Iris concentrates on the bigger islands, since she does not expect the son of Zeus to be born on an insignificant piece of rock. See, however, 157 f. Ἶρις ... πάσῃσιν ... / σπερχομένη. (2) The epithet mockingly stresses the extent

and importance of the task of 'harmless little Iris' (M. Campbell, *CQ* n.s. 22 (1972), 110f.). But this characterization of Iris seems neither in accordance with epic tradition concerning her nor with the description of her way of acting in 157ff., which appears to be fully effective. (3) From a mere logical point of view, 'broad islands' can only refer to their individual extent, and not to that of the group as a whole. Yet Mair's translation 'far-flung' is most attractive, if we consider εὐρείαων to be an echo of the celebrated verse-ending εὐρεῖα χθών (*Il.* 4, 182*; 8, 150*; 11, 741*, etc.).

Several corrections have been proposed: (1) Schneider's εἰναλιάων is no more than a stop-gap, of course (but cf. 153f. νήσους / εἰναλίας) and his εὐειλάων (*apricarum*) an anomalous form with a two-terminal adjective, and not making much sense in the context either. (2) In MS P of Ludwich's Homer-edition Giangrande found a variant for εὐρειάων in *Od.* 16, 62, viz. εὐρειτάων 'having a fair stream', which he, claiming a Callimachean fondness for such obscure readings already in *Delos*, is convinced to be what Call. really wrote. Now water plays an important role in tales about divine childbirth (cf. Call. *H.* 1, 16f., and see Herter, *o.c.* (6 n.), *l.c.*), but it is hardly likely that the presence of a fair stream would have been applied by *Iris* as a criterium for watching some of the islands better than others. Besides, Campbell will be right in stating that εὐρειτάων is not a 'disputed' reading, but 'a graphic error of the most elementary kind'. Anyhow, one cannot simply stamp a reading in a Homer MS from 1201 A.D. (*Palatinus* 45, see Allen's *Codicum Index*) as a Homeric variant, and suppose that it already occurred in a MS of Homer available to Callimachus in the Alexandrian library. (3) If correction would be unavoidable (*quod non*), one could perhaps rather think of εὐγειάων 'with good soil', being quite near the reading of *P.Bodl.*, and, being a prose-word, uncommon enough to be altered in εὐρειάων later. For fertility as an important factor when the foundation of a sanctuary is considered cf. *h.Ap.* 48 and 66f.; the epithet moreover would be a subtle allusion to the common explanation θηλύς as 'fertile' in *Il.* 21, 454 = 22, 45 νήσων ἔπι θηλυτεράων. See Pfeiffer, *HCS*, 139. Like εὐρειτάων, however, the qualification is hardly apt as a criterium for *Iris* to pay heed on.

To sum up: αἰπειάων is technically the best reading, but from an interpretative point of view less attractive than εὐρειάων if the latter is taken as a characterization of the vast territory Iris has to keep an eye on. Of the corrections proposed, no one is really convincing.

67. ἧστο: *Il.* 6, 324*, *Od.* 1, 114*, *h.Cer.* 28*, Hes. *Sc.* 214*, etc. For ἧστο with dative (Μίμαντι) cf. *h.Ap.* 98 ἧστο γὰρ ἄκρῳ Ὀλύμπῳ; for its application to a deity watching terrestrial events cf. *Il.* 13, 11, and above, 63 n.

κόρη Θαύμαντος: from the Scholiast onward commentators here hasten to explain that this is Iris; cf. Hes. *Th.* 780 Θαύμαντος θυγάτηρ πόδας ὠκέα

῏Ιρις, Pl. *Theaet.* 155d τὴν Ἶριν Θαύμαντος ἔκγονον. According to Mc Kay (*Erys.* 148) this gives something of a shock to the learned reader, since in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo Iris was the one who bribed Eileithyia to come to assist Leto on Delos, whereas now she appears to be on Hera's side. I wonder, however, whether the audience would have immediately identified Thaumas' daughter solely with Iris, since in Hes. *Th.* 265 ff. it is not only she who is mentioned as a daughter of Thaumas and Electra, but also the Harpies Aello and Ocypete, with whose nasty character the Alexandrinians cannot have been unfamiliar, cf. *Od.* 20, 77, Ar. *Pax* 810, A.R. 2, 187 ff. (with Vian's note), Apld. 1, 9, 21 (with Frazer's note). In my view Call. deliberately chose the circumscription 'daughter of Thaumas' not for a mere display of learning, but to confuse the audience, since as a counterpart of mighty Ares it would expect another mighty person—and so rather a Harpy, perhaps—, to hear only in l. 157 that Iris is meant. So the shock announced by Mc Kay is only to come in that line.

Homer and Hesiod have only κούρη, etc.; for κόρη see *h.Cer.* 439, Theogn. 1002. For the combination with the genitive cf. *Od.* 1, 329 κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο, etc.

ἐπαΐξασα: varies epic (ἀν) αΐξασα, which is never found in this *sedes*; but other forms of the participle are, cf. *Il.* 10, 345* ἐπαΐξαντες, 12, 191* ἐπαΐξας. For ἀίσσω said of the swift movements of the gods cf. *Il.* 2, 167; 15, 150, etc., see *LfgrE s.v.*

Μίμαντι: the Mimas is a promontory in Asia Minor opposite Chios, mentioned in *Od.* 3, 172* παρ' ἠνεμόεντα Μίμαντα, cf. also *h.Ap.* 39, *Ep.* 6, 5* (= *Vit. Hdt.*, 239), Ar. *Nub.* 273. We have no indication as to why Call. puts Iris on this particular mountain-top. According to the Scholiast on *Od.* 3, 172, Mimas was a Giant, who lies buried under the promontory. A story like that would have interested Call.; cf. the tale of Briareos lying under Etna, below, 141 ff. That the name of the Giant was chosen to evoke associations with Hesiod's description of the Gigantomachy, referred to already in lines 62 f. above (resembling Hes. *Th.* 632), as Reinsch-Werner, *Call. hes.* 240 f., claims, is—as so much in her book—extremely far-fetched. I would rather think of the possibility that in the choice of the name Mimas verbal play with μίμνω (cf. l. 69 μίμνον) is involved. Note further the assonance of Θαύμαντος ~ Μίμαντι, which makes a quasi-leonine verse: see McLennan, *Zeus*, 30. For a possible representation of Mimas on the sanctuary at Delphi see E. *Ion* 215, with Owen's note on 190.

68. ἔνθ' οἱ μέν: also in *Od.* 24, 386*, cf. 1, 11 ἔνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες, ὅσοι ..., 7, 325 καὶ μὲν οἵ ἔνθ', *h.Ap.* 414 οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἔνθ'.

πολίεσσιν: this form only twice in Homer (*Od.* 21, 252; 24, 355), at the end of the line. — In the description to come, cities appear to play only a minor

part (cf. 87 f. Thebes, 100 Achean cities, 104 Larisa). but in πόλις the idea of land around the city is implicit.

For the dative of interest cf. the dative with ἀπειλέω in *Il.* 13, 220.

ὅσαις ἐπεβάλλετο Λητώ: cf. *h.Ap.* 45 τόσσον ἔπ' ... ἵκετο Λητώ. The stronger ἐπιβάλλομαι expresses Leto's urgent need for a place to give birth: Mair's 'approach' and *LSJ*'s 'arrive at' are thus too weak, Cahen's 's'attacher, s'accrocher' much better. Ἐπιβάλλομαι with the dative is not epic, but only found in later Greek (D.S., Polyb., etc.); in Homer, ἐπιβάλλω + dative = 'throw upon', while for 'throw oneself upon' he has ἐπιβάλλω + accusative (see esp. *Od.* 15, 297 ≅ *h.Ap.* 427 ἡ δὲ Φεὰς ἐπέβαλλε), or ἐπιβάλλομαι + genitive. But there is no need to take ὅσαις as an *attractio* for ὅσων for that reason; other compounds with ἐπί indicating movement regularly take the dative in epic, cf. *Il.* 10, 485; 13, 482, etc.

69. μίμνον: *Il.* 12, 136*.

ἀπειλητῆρες: *Il.* 7, 96* (Homeric *unicum*).

ἀπετρώπων δέ: cf. *Il.* 18, 585* ἀπετρωπῶντο, also with an infinitive; in Homer, however, the active never takes an infinitive, though it can be supplied in *Od.* 16, 405. The verb is carefully chosen: on the face of it, the hearer would understand 'they forbade (the cities to accept her)', as in *Od.* 16, 405, only to learn from the sequel that the menacing pair literally would 'drive away' all cities at Leto's arrival.

For the ellipse of the object see Chantr. II, 10 and 172. Note the use of a four-word line (with δέ postpositive) to conclude a passage: see above, 50 n. The two 'heavy' words on either side of the middle caesura present the same metrical pattern: ⏑ – – – ⏑.

70-196. Wanderings of Leto: flight of all countries, rivers, cities and mountains (70-152) and of the islands (153-196), when Leto appeals to them.

While lines 30-44 of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo contain a rather dull enumeration of islands and mountains visited by Leto in search for a place to give birth to her son, Callimachus' description, being more than ten times as long, is full of surprising details, and moreover contains three dramatically elaborated digressions, viz. (i) 86-98: warning of unwilling Thebe by the uterine Apollo for the god's future avenging of Niobe. (ii) 105-152: Peneius places himself at Leto's disposal in the face of Ares' threats. (iii) 160-195: Apollo's prophecy regarding the birth of Ptolemy Philadelphus on Cos and on the common struggle of both against the Gauls later. The first two episodes belong to the same 'mainland section', but constitute a major contrast (Thebe's unwillingness *versus* the readiness of Peneius); the last episode is the famous *pièce de résistance* in the 'island part', which is rather insignificant in itself.

Again, in the Homeric Hymn the poet's choice of names is traditional, in conformity with the horizon of the ancient Greek mariner, as it offers a selection of well-known landmarks in the Aegean: see Wilam., *Il. u. Hom.*, 440 ff. (but cf. Bethe, *SbLeipz.* 83, 1931-2, 18). For the choice of Call. we cannot, I think, establish one universal motive: the greater part will have been chosen because other gods or demi-gods, whether sprung from illicit wedlock or not, were born in those places (Zeus in Arcadia, Telephos on Mt. Parthenion, Amphion and Zethos on Helicon, Cheiron on Pelion, Philadelphus on Cos); sometimes a name only seems to create an atmosphere of old myth, as with Aonia (75) and Helice (101), while at another time it gives the poet the opportunity to blame or praise (Thebe and Peneius respectively), or to allude to historical (Boura and Helice, 101 f.) or geographical (Echinades, 155) peculiarities.

Anyhow, Bauer's thesis (p. 32) that the description of Leto's erratic itinerary is an allegorical way of characterizing the pre-Apolline, and analogous to this the pre-Philadelphian, world as disorderly and instable is unacceptable. First, the idea that the world was chaotic before Philadelphus is quite unapt, and not very complimentary to Soter at that, and second, Leto's impulsive way of traversing the Mediterranean—the goddess searching despairingly for a spot to give birth to her child—is by no means fitting as an allegory for some mundane chaos.

The consistent personification in the whole passage, though generally appreciated, has also made critics frown: cf. e.g. Wilamowitz, *HD* II, 66: "Das führt zu Vorstellungen die man nicht ausdenken soll." The reader, however, was carefully prepared for the idea by the personification of Asteria/Delos (lines 6 and 35 ff.) and by the scene of the island-procession in 16 ff.; as Callimachus' starting-point one may consider *h.Ap.* 47 f. αἱ δὲ (*sc.* countries and islands) μάλ' ἐτρόμεον καὶ ἐδείδισαν, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη/Φοῖβον δέξασθαι. The consistent development of such an idea into an elaborate new whole, strikingly characterized by Ernst Howald as 'Zu-Ende-Denken' (*Kall.*, 73 ff.), is one of the essential features of Callimachean style. See Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 148 ff., 174 f.; *P.a.P.*, 18.

70-74. Flight of some Peloponnesian regions.

For the extended anaphora φεῦγε ... φεῦγεν etc. cf. *Il.* 10, 227 ff. ἔθελον ..., ἠθελέτην ..., ἤθελε ..., δ' ἤθελε ..., ἤθελε δ' ..., ἤθελε δ' ..., *Od.* 3, 430 ff. ἦλθε μὲν ..., ἦλθον δὲ ..., ἦλθε δὲ ..., ἦλθε δ' ..., etc.; see West on Hes. *Op.* 5 ff.; *Theog.*, 76; Fehling, *Wiederholungsfig.*, 212 f.; D. Tabachovitz, *Eranos* 47 (1949), 3. The use of anaphora in a small epic catalogue is traditional (cf. *Il.* 14, 317 ff.), but Callimachus formally deviates by varying quantity and ictus with the repeated words (φεῦγε̆ ... φεῦγέν), for which there is already a parallel in Homer, *Od.* 8, 322 f.: ἦλθε Ποσειδάων γαιήοχος, ἦλθ' ἐριούνης /

Ἑρμείας, ἦλθεν δὲ ἄναξ ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων. Other instances in Call. are the much-quoted fr. 75, 4 κῦον, κῦον, and *H.* 1, 79 Δῖος ... Δῖος; for the cognate use of anaphora with variation of quantity in the *first* syllable (as in *H.* 1, 55 κᾱλᾰ ... κᾰλᾰ) see McLennan, *Zeus*, 90 f.; Fehling, *Wiederholungsfig.*, 178 f.

70. Ἀρκαδίη: first of all, Leto heads for the country where Rhea once had given birth to Apollo's father, cf. *H.* 1, 7 ff.; Nilsson, *GGR* I, 398 ff. The names of Parthenion and Pheneios serve to specify the region further. — With Heracles and Telephus, Arcadia is depicted on the famous wall-painting from the Basilica in Herculaneum; see M. Grant, *Cities of Vesuvius* (London 1974), 154, 160.

70 f. ὄρος ἱερὸν Αὔγης / Παρθένιον: Parthenion is a mountain between Arcadia and the Argolis, where Auge, daughter of Aleos, bore Telephus to Heracles against the wish of her father, cf. Hes. fr. 165, 6 ff., Eur. fr. 102, 4 ff. Austin. The epithet ἱερός cannot refer to this event, since Auge—unlike Rhea, who made Parrhasia ἱερή, see *H.* 1, 10 ff.—was no goddess; but the region was sacred to Athena, who had a famous sanctuary in Tegea (see Nilsson, *GGR* I, 434). A reference to Athena in this hymn, however, seems quite out of place.

For the combination ὄρος ἱερόν cf. E. *Or.* 1383 (of the Ida), *Pho.* 234 (of the hill near Delphi where Apollo slew the dragon), etc. For ἱερός with mountains and the like in Homer cf. *Od.* 3, 278 Σούνιον ἱερόν, 10, 275 ἱερὰς ... βήσσας.

71. φεῦγεν δ' ὁ γέρων: Maas, *Festschr. Snell* (München 1956), 23 f. proposed φεῦγεν δὲ γέρων here, because of (i) the exceptional combination of a penthemimeral and a hepthemimeral caesura, and (ii) the elision at the middle caesura. Of both phenomena, however, the hymn offers some more instances, see above, *Introd.*, ch. 4.2.2 and 4.4.3. That Maas characterizes the article as "*unpoetisch*" is amazing, ὁ γέρων being a stock combination in Homer, cf. e.g. *Il.* 1, 33* ἔδδεισεν δ' ὁ γέρων, 3, 259* ῥίγησεν δ' ὁ γέρων, 11, 637* Νέστωρ δ' ὁ γέρων, 24, 424* γήθησεν δ' ὁ γέρων. See Chantr. II, 162 ff.; Svensson, *o.c.* (7 n.), 132 f.

μετόπισθε: cf. *Il.* 20, 308*, *Od.* 8, 414*, Hes. *Op.* 284*, *al.*; with a verb of movement it is found only in *Il.* 23, 346. — Note the realistic trait: the 'old man' cannot keep pace with nymph Arcadia.

Φενειός: this is the correction by Arnaldus of the MSS-reading φεναιός, a name of which nothing is known at all; the φανιο[of *P.Oxy.* is equally obscure. Φενειός, however, is itself problematic, since in our texts we find only Φενεός as the name of a city in the north of Arcadia (first in *Il.* 2, 605). Salmasius (cited by Schneider, 269) suggested Pheneios to be a river, -ειος being a common rivername suffix. Indeed, we could compare then the doublet

Ἀλφεός ~ Ἀλφειός, and ὁ γέρων also suits a river-god well; cf. Matz, *Naturpersonif.*, 90 ff. Another possibility is that Pheneios is intended to be the κτίστης of the 'pre-historical' city of Pheneos (ἀρχαία Φενεός), once submerged by the sea, cf. Paus. 8, 14, 1 ff.; Cahen, *Comm.*, 168. In lines 101 f., two more cities are mentioned that were sunk in the sea. With a view to the deficiency of our knowledge it seems wise not to choose between these two alternatives and even to remain sceptical as to the correctness of the proposition Φενειός.

72. ὅλη Πελοπηΐς ὅση παρακέκλιται Ἰσθμῷ: the interpretation 'the whole Peloponnese lying near the Isthmus' seems excluded, since φεῦγε δ' clearly announces a new region, on a par with Arcadia mentioned above, and cannot mean 'in short, the whole Peloponnese fled' (Arcadia included). Moreover, the statement that the *whole* Peloponnese lies near the Isthmus sounds rather absurd, and the names of Aigialos and Argos, too, suggest that with Πελοπηΐς the poet meant the part of the Peloponnese east of Arcadia. In fact, Leto, after a visit to Boeotia, again turns to the Peloponnese, which would not make sense, if the *whole* Peloponnese had fled already. This would account for the unusual ethnicon Πελοπηΐς, since it does not refer to the whole Peloponnese, which in poetry is generally called Πέλοπος νῆσος / χθών / γαῖα. Πελοπηΐς denoting broadly the Argolis is not found elsewhere, but perfectly possible, Pelops being an ancestor of the Atrides; cf. the use of *Pelopeides* for 'women of Argos' in Stat. *Th.* 10, 50 and 12, 540 (from Antimachus?). The function of ὅλη, then, is to prepare for the right interpretation of ἔμπλην in the next line, see below.

ὅλη: an unepic form (Homer has οὖλος instead), first probably in Theogn. 73, and current in Tragedy, Pindar and Attic prose, cf. Williams, *Apollo*, 17. So Schmitt's statement (*Nom.* 54 n. 11) that Call. wrote this form under the influence of contemporary Greek has only a small chance of being true. See also above, 67 n. on κόρη ~ κούρη.

Πελοπηΐς: not found before Call.; cf. also fr. 384, 11 ἐν π[ο]δὶ ληγούσης Πελοπηΐδος ἱερὸν ἰσθμόν, and A.R. 4, 1570 (adj.). Here γαῖα as well as νύμφη can be supplied mentally, though properly speaking in the latter case this leads to the puzzling idea of a truncated nymph, since parts of Πελοπηΐς appear not to partake in the flight (l. 73 ἔμπλην ...). Here, if anywhere, Wilamowitz' words apply: "Das führt zu Vorstellungen, die man nicht ausdenken soll." (*HD* II 66). Callimachus' fondness for feminine ethnica and patronymica on -ις can be gauged from the long list in Schmitt, *Nom.* 22 f.

ὅση: as far as I could ascertain never found after ὅλος, but quite acceptable as a variation, of course, ὅλος being an equivalent of πᾶς. See Thesleff, *Intensif.*, 149.

παρακέκλιται Ἰσθμῷ: 'adjoins the Isthmus'; elsewhere in Greek παρακλί-

νω = 'turn aside'. For κέκλιμαι in a geographical context cf. *Od.* 4, 608 αἵ θ' ἁλὶ κεκλίαται; the construction with the dative is the same as that with παράκειμαι which is sometimes found in a comparable context, see *LSJ s.v.* — For form and *sedes* of παρακέκλιται cf. *Od.* 6, 308* ποτικέκλιται.

73. ἔμπλην: evidently 'except' here, as in Archil. fr. 202 ἔμπλην ἐμέο τε καὶ φίλου (cf. Apoll. Soph. and Hesych. quoted by West *ad loc.*) and Nic. *Ther.* 322, and this as distinct from Homer, who had ἔμπλην only once in *Il.* 2, 526 Βοιωτῶν δ' ἔμπλην = 'next to the Boeotians'; cf. Hes. *Sc.* 372 (adv.), Lycophr. 1029. The interpretation 'except' was prepared for in a way by ὅλη in the foregoing line, and may have occurred in epic poetry now lost to us. We must, though, keep open the possibility of an intentional ambiguity: since Πελοπηΐς is a rather vague term, the reader for the moment may as well understand the lines as 'fled, too, the country of Pelops *alongside with* Aigialos and Argos', to be disabused immediately by the content of lines 73 f.

Αἰγιαλοῦ: mentioned as a part of Agamemnon's territory in *Il.* 2, 575; see *LfgrE s.v.* According to Pausanias 5, 11 it was an old name for Achaia, but that is clearly not the meaning here, that region being in fact mentioned below (100 ff.) and not exactly adjoining the Isthmus (see Schneider, 269 f.). Here the region of Sicyon is possibly meant, the old territory of Aegialeus, son of Inachos (cf. 1. 74): see Pfeiffer on fr. 278. — On Hera cult in Sicyon see Nilsson, *GGR* I, 428.

γε καί: an unnecessary correction by Wilamowitz of τε καί of the MSS. Certainly γε prepares better for the γάρ sentence to follow, and πλήν γε is current Greek idiom (see *LSJ*); but τε καί is written in the quotation of Callimachus' line in *Schol. Il.* 2, 526 (see Pfeiffer's *Testimonia* and *apparatus*) and also in Archil. fr. 202 quoted above, which may be taken provisionally as Callimachus' 'source'. Besides, γε would somewhat spoil the ambiguity of ἔμπλην (if extant): see above.

Ἄργεος: not denoting the Argolis, as often in Homer, if it is true that Πελοπηΐς means the Argolis; but the city proper, one of the main centres of the Hera cult: cf. *Il.* 4, 52, and the well-known epithet Ἀργείη in *Il.* 4, 8, Hes. *Th.* 12, etc. See E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen* (München 1969), 41; Nilsson, *GGR* I, 428.

οὐ γάρ: *Il.* 4, 374*; 6, 411*; *Od.* 2, 58*, etc.

73 f. ἐκείνας / ἀτραπιτούς: for enjambement after a stop at the bucolic diaeresis see *Introd.*, ch. 3.3.5. For enjambement with ἐκεῖνος in Homer cf. *Od.* 3, 103 f. ἦν ἐν ἐκείνῳ / δήμῳ ... Ἐκεῖνος here again refers to what has gone immediately before: see above, 11 n.

Homer has ἀτραπιτοί once in *Od.* 13, 195*, elsewhere ἀταρπιτός or ἀταρπός. The word was chosen perhaps to characterize the primitive mythical era, lacking ἁμαξιτοί yet; cf. *h.Ap.* 227-8 οὐδ' ἄρα πω τότε γ' ἦσαν ἀταρπιτοὶ οὐδὲ κέλευθοι / Θήβης ἂμ πεδίον πυρηφόρον.

74. ἐπάτησεν: πατέω is a Homeric *unicum* in *Il.* 4, 157 (κατὰ δ' ὅρκια πιστὰ πάτησαν) and is also mainly poetic afterwards (Trag., Lyr.), cf. esp. Pi. *P.* 2, 85 πατέων ὁδοῖς σκολιαῖς. See also below, l. 248* δέμνιον οὐκ ἐπάτησε.

λάχεν Ἴναχον Ἥρη: in fr. 119, Call. tells how after the Gigantomachy the gods drew lots to divide the world among themselves. The *terminus technicus* used in references to this divine lottery is λαγχάνω, cf. *h.Merc.* 428 (not mentioned in Pfeiffer's note) ὡς τὰ πρῶτα γένοντο καὶ ὡς λάχε μοῖραν ἕκαστος, and also *h.Ven.* 2, *h.* 9, 6, Pi. *O.* 14, 1, etc. See Keyssner, *Gottesvorst.*, 64 f. For Hera and Argos cf. also Call. fr. 55, 2 Ἄργος ... ἴδιόν περ ἐὸν λάχος. Inachos is a river as well as a mythical king of Argos, mentioned explicitly as a son of Oceanus in Apld. 2, 1, 1 (as in general all rivers are, cf. *Il.* 21, 195 ff., Hes. *Th.* 337 ff.) and so well fitting in this mythical era. By Melia (cf. l. 80 below) or Argeia he was father of Aegialeus (73 n.) and Argos. See *KlP* 2, 1384.

75-99. Flight of Boeotia, with twofold elaboration: (i) 82-85 'the Hamadryad problem', and (ii) 86-98 Apollo's warning of Thebe.

75. Ἀονίη: this name for Boeotia is not attested before Call. (Ἀόνων in E. *Ph.* 644 being a conjecture of Valckenaer), see Pfeiffer on fr. 572; Th. Breitenstein, *Megara* (Copenhagen 1966), 48. As a possible source one could think of the ancient Thebaid or of the version of Antimachos, from which Statius may have derived the patronymic *Aonides* (*Theb.* 9, 95). Aonia is otherwise common in Latin poetry, see the *OLD s.v.*

τὸν ἕνα δρόμον: 'on the same course', *sc.* as Arcadia, Parthenion, etc. For εἷς = 'the same' cf. *Il.* 3, 238; 15, 710, etc.; the article perhaps *via* analogy with ὁ αὐτός, cf. *Il.* 6, 391. Cf. also Theoc. 18, 19 τὰν μίαν χλαῖναν, with Gow's note.

For φεῦγε ... δρόμον cf. Pi. *P.* 9, 121 ἐπεὶ φύγε λαιψηρὸν δρόμον.

αἱ δ' ἐφέποντο: cf. *Il.* 13, 690* οἱ δ' ἅμ' ἕποντο, *Od.* 3, 165* αἵ μοι ἕποντο, also 11, 36* αἱ δ' ἀγέροντο, 20, 67* αἱ δ' ἐλίποντο. While ἕποντο is frequent in Homer, ἐφέποντο is never found there. Callimachus' fondness for such 'quasi-Homeric' forms is so well known that it is surprising to see that M. L. West, *Philol.* 110 (1966), 158 (cf. R. Renehan, *Hypomn.* 45, 1976, 21) thought correction into αἱ δ' ἐφέβοντο (cf. *Od.* 22, 299*, *al.*) recommendable. Moreover, after the fivefold anaphora φεῦγε ..., φεῦγε ..., etc., a new verb of flying is certainly less apt than the notion 'follow', for which see also below, l. 77 ὁ δ' εἵπετο.

76. Δίρκη τε Στροφίη τε: cf. *Il.* 2, 648* Φαιστόν τε Ῥύτιόν τε, 13, 691* Φείδας τε Στιχίος τε, *h.Ap.* 32* Αἰγαί τ' Εἰρεσίαι τε, etc. The Dirce is the well-known river at Thebes (A. *Se.* 273, etc.), in which another son of Zeus, Dionysus, was washed after his birth, cf. E. *Ba.* 520 ff. The Strophia is not attested elsewhere: it may be the small torrent across Thebes, east of the

Cadmeia, see Jebb on S. *OR* 20. Ziehen's objection (*RE* XV, col. 1427) that this torrent contains water only in times of rain, and so cannot be Callimachus' Strophia, does not hold, Call. offering no specifications at all about the river's nature.

Several corrections of Στροφίη have been proposed, among which Γαργαφίη (Ruhnken), τ' Ἀργαφίη (Bergk), and Τροφίη (Meineke). But, as Schneider already remarked, these do not qualify, because they do not meet the requirement of being a daughter of Ismenus (see 1.77 Ἰσμηνοῦ ... πατρός); so in spite of the obscurity of the name the text should be kept unaltered.

μελαμψήφιδος: 'with black pebbles'; apart from *H.* 3, 101* and Nonnos, not attested elsewhere. If the compound was coined by Call. himself, he would have been aware of the occurrence of πολυψηφίς in Hdt. 1, 55* (*orac.*), see Schmitt, *Nom.* 26, n. 54. For the *sedes* cf. also *Il.* 21, 260* ὑπὸ ψηφῖδες ἅπασαι. — The idea of a black-pebbled rivergod running away hand in hand with his two daughters is certainly a picturesque way ("tableau pittoresque", Cahen) to describe these Boeotian rivers, actually forming a confluence (see Bauer, *Exeg.*, 8). As to the reason why the Ismenus was provided with this curious epithet, McKay suggests (*Erys.*, 175 n. 4) that the reference could be to the Greek voting-system applied in law-court, in which black and white pebbles served to indicate condemnation or acquittal respectively. 'The black-pebbled god' then could mean 'the doomed, condemned god'; and this could fit the idea, possibly underlying Callimachus' choice of flying 'geographical personnages', that all those who rejected Leto were punished later (see above, p. 107 on 70ff.). Incongruous with this idea, however, is the fact that other flying countries or cities get quite favourable epithets, such as ἱερόν (70), μεγάλη (104), λιπαρόν (155) and φιλοξεινωτάτη (156); besides, the connexion between Apollo and the Ismenos appears to be far from hostile, as may be concluded from the existence of the cult of Apollo Ismenios (see Nilsson, *GF*, 164f.). Possibly the poet's only intention was to play with the traditional epic verse-pattern of the type Ῥίπην τε Στρατίην τε καὶ ἠνεμόεσσαν Ἐνίσπην in *Il.* 2, 606 etc. (cf. below, 292 n.): here the epithet bears a case different from that of the two foregoing names, and the last name is replaced by a participle, which results in 'necessary enjambement'. That Call. himself used the traditional pattern unaltered in 1.292 is of course no objection.

ἔχουσαι: seventeen times in early epic, always at the end of the line. For χεῖρα ἔχειν cf. *h.Ap.* 196 χεῖρας ἔχουσαι. The Homeric construction is ἔχειν τινὰ χειρός (*Il.* 11, 487f.).

77. Ἰσμηνοῦ: Ismenos is the son of Asopos according to Apld. 3, 12, 6, and Thebes' main river, cf. E. *Su.* 1214 Ἰσμηνοῦ πόλιν. For representations

of him in art see Matz, *Naturpersonif.*, 87; Bölte, *RE* VII, col. 756. He is mentioned in Pi. *hy.* 1, fr. 29, 1 alongside with Melia and Thebe.

χέρα: always χεῖρα in Homer (but the dative is χέρι three times), χέρα being common in Lyric poetry and Tragedy.

ὁ δ' εἵπετο πολλὸν ὄπισθεν: cf. *Il.* 21, 256 ὁ δ' ὄπισθε ... ἕπετο, A. *Pe.* 1001 ὄπιθεν ἑπομένους. Homer combines πολλόν with ὀπίσσω (*Il.* 16, 710), ἀπάνευθε (14, 30), ἀπόπροθι (23, 832), etc., but never with ὄπισθεν, as e.g. in Pi. *O.* 10, 35 ὄπιθεν οὐ πολλόν. — Like the old man in l. 70, here, too, is someone who falls behind in the flight: a cripple this time. Call. may have thought of him as a γέρων as well, Asopus passing for Ismenos' father in mythology. See Apld. 3, 12, 6, with Frazer's note.

78. Ἀσωπός: there were several rivers of this name in Greece, of which the two most important ones, the one in Boeotia and the other near Sicyon, were regularly confused in Antiquity. According to Apollodorus, Diodorus and Pausanias, the Sicyonian Asopus was hit by a thunderbolt when he tried to pursue Zeus, who was carrying away the river-god's daughter Aegina. Call. here and perhaps elsewhere follows what seems to be the Pindaric version (*I.* 8, 16ff.), in which the same story is told about the Boeotian Asopus: see Pfeiffer on fr. 594; Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, I (Darmstadt [3]1959), 92 n. 1; Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 176. A personified Asopus was introduced already by Corinna (if the traditional date of this poetess is correct), fr. 654 col. III 48 Page, cf. Bowra, *H* 49 (1938), 221. For his representation on Tanagra coins see Hamdorf, *Kultpersonif.*, 81 n. 91.

βαρύγουνος: 'heavy-kneed'; first in Call., and so possibly (but not necessarily) "eine Schöpfung des Kyrenäers" (Schmitt, *Nom.* 51, n. 10). A comparable formation is βαρυσκελής 'heavy in the legs, slow' in *Trag. adesp.* 250 N.

For a possible allusion to Antigonos Gonatas see below on κεραυνῷ. I fail to understand Kuiper's remark that the epithet alludes to the epitheta of Asopus in *Il.* 4, 383 βαθύσχοινον λεχεποίην.

πεπάλακτο: cf. *Il.* 11, 98, 535; 12, 186; 20, 400, 500; *Od.* 22, 406 (never in this *sedes*), from παλάσσω 'defile, mar'. The word has been handled by former commentators in three ways:

(i) According to Schneider, Kuiper, Cahen, Mc Kay (*Erys.*, 176) and Erbse (*H.* 81, 1953, 179), the verb ought to be taken in the original sense: the river was made turbid by the thunderbolt, and the muddy waters impeded the god's speed (cf. schol. D. on *Il.* 5, 100 παλάσσετο· ἐβρέχετο, ἐμολύνετο, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ πηλὸς ἡ βεβρεγμένη γῆ). This explanation is attractive because of its play with the double aspect of Ismenos as a god and a river (the pun could be saved more or less in English by translating 'since he was *troubled* by a thunderbolt'). That mud should hinder a river from flowing fast, however, is

not true in itself (cf. the description of the Euphrates in *H.* 2, 108 f., with Williams' notes); and how does a thunderbolt make a river turbid? "Gedacht ist an das nach einem Gewitterregen aufgewühlte Wasser," says Erbse, *art. cit.*, *l.c.*, referring to F. von Jan, *De Callimacho Homeri interprete* (Strassburg 1893); but after a heavy shower mountain-streams tend to flow even faster than before. Kuiper quotes Apld. 3, 12, 6 (διὰ τοῦτο μέχρι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τῶν τούτου (*sc.* the Asopos) ῥείθρων ἄνθρακες φέρονται), but how the presence of coal could hinder a river from flowing rapidly is not easy to see either.

(ii) Older commentators, such as Bredau and Lobeck, supposed πεπάλακτο here to be an equivalent of ἐπέπληκτο (cf. *Il.* 8, 455 πληγέντε κεραυνῷ). Indeed, Schol. T on *Il.* 11, 98a possibly connects πεπάλακτο with κινεῖν (πεπάλακτο· γράφετο "†κεκίνητο†"), while in *Il.* 7, 171 and *Od.* 9, 331 πεπάλαχθε and -χθαι are considered to be isolated forms of (?) παλάσσομαι 'cast lots': see Chantr., *Dict. Et.* 854A. It seems very unlikely, however, that in *Il.* 11, 534 f.; 20, 499 f. and *Od.* 22, 406 αἵματι πεπάλακτο was explained by ancient commentators as 'he was defiled by blood', whereas ἐγκέφαλος πεπάλακτο in *Il.* 11, 97 f.*; 12, 185 f.* and 20, 399 f.* would have been interpreted by them as 'his brains were shaken', so that the learned readers of *Delos* immediately associated πεπάλακτο with the idea of shaking as well.

(iii) S. A. Naber, *Mnem.* 34 (1906), 234, proposed to read πεπάτακτο, from πατάσσω 'strike, smite', a common verb from Homer onward (used of lightning in Arist. *Meteor.* 371 b 9); but of the perfect, Homer has only ἐκπεπαταγμένος (*Od.* 18, 327), and πεπάτακτο thus would constitute a typical Callimachean form. The fact that Homer has πεπάλακτο six times could be held responsible for the corruption of the Callimachean text.

Of these possibilities the last one is in itself certainly more prosaic than the first two, but the image of a river-god stumbling along because Zeus had hit him with a thunderbolt is picturesque enough.

κεραυνῷ: always at the end of the line in early epic. — The description of a βαρύγουνος person struck by a κεραυνός perhaps reminded the Alexandrian audience of the fact that in 281 B.C. Antigonos Gonatas was beaten by Ptolemy Keraunos; see Will I, 87. For another allusion to this Ptolemy's surname in literature see Edmonds, *Fragm. Att. Com.* III A, p. 161 with note *e*, on a comedy of Anaxippus.

79 ff. 'And she, feeling the earth turn under her feet (?), ceased from her dance, the girl, earth-born Melia, and slightly pale her cheek grew, as she panted over her coeval tree, seeing the hair of Helicon shake'.

The shaking was neither a result of the lightning which had struck Asopus, as Blomfield thought, the pluperfect πεπάλακτο proving that the affair of the rape of Aegina had already taken place some time before; nor was it caused by the sudden force with which Asopus fled, thus threatening the oaks on his

banks, as Schneider explains, since lines 77f. clearly indicate that the river is flying at a very reduced speed. The better interpretation is that of Howald-Staiger (109 note) and Mc Kay (*Erys.*, 176f.): Melia is dancing near the Helicon—whether with other nymphs or not—, but stops, when she becomes aware that her tree, growing somewhere high up the mountain, is in danger. Helicon, apparently, is excited (cf. 81 σειομένην), and shakes his 'hair', *i.e.* the trees on the mountain-top. For the question whether Helicon does or does not fly see below, 81 n. Meineke has a 'wild theory' (as Schneider characterizes it) that lines 79-85 must be deleted, since in fact they belong to the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (after line 37), where also Tree-nymphs are concerned. Lines 82-85 of *Delos*, however, which are surprising enough even in a Hellenistic poem, seem absolutely impossible in the older Homeric hymn. Moreover, the transition from 78 to 86 in *Delos* is hardly a smooth one, since after the mentioning of Ismenos and Asopos one would expect τοῖς, not ταῖς.

79. ὑποδινηθεῖσα: in spite of all efforts of commentators still a problematic word (the compound only here). Clearly to be rejected is *LSJ*'s translation 'become dizzy' for ὑποδινέομαι, since there is hardly anything in δινέω (cf. *LSJ s.vv.* δίνησις, δῖνος) and nothing at all in the context suggesting vertigo. The scholiast explains the participle as ὑπότρομος γενομένη, which led Kuiper to think that ὑποδινέομαι here should be an epic equivalent of ὑποτρομέω (*Il.* 10, 95, etc.); apart from their prefix, however, the two verbs have hardly anything in common. According to Meineke, the participle characterizes the dancing of the nymph, cf. *Od.* 2, 151* ἐπιδινηθέντε, said of two eagles wheeling about in the air; but ὑπο- hardly makes sense, then, and the combination of ὑποδινηθεῖσα with χοροῦ is rather awkward, both of them basically expressing the same idea (? 'dancing a bit she stopped dancing').

Most modern editors take ὑποδινηθεῖσα passively, as referring to the effect of the flying landscape under Melia's feet: 'swept off her feet' (Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 176) 'ebranlée du coup' (Cahen, Budé-ed.), 'von unten gewirbelt' (Howald-Staiger). But in my view this is not satisfactory either, because of the unapt 'whirl' when a simple κινεῖν or σείειν would have sufficed, and the complete absence of a reference to the circumstances of the shock. With a view to 80 ὑπόχλοον ἔσχε παρειήν, we should rather expect a notion describing Melia's own emotions, such as is offered by the reading ὑποδυνηθεῖσα of G (see Schneider's *apparatus*), from ὑπ-οδυνάομαι: 'and she, suddenly feeling a slight pain, stopped her dancing'. As a Hamadryad, Melia is supposed to be closely connected with her tree, intimately sympathizing with its vicissitudes, see below, 84f. The compound is not found in Greek, but E. *Cyc.* 661 has ἐξοδυνηθείς; for ὑπο- with verbs of emotion and the like cf. ὑποδείδια, ὑπαισχύνομαι, ὑποφθονέω, etc. That the word is unmetrical because the υ

counts short is not necessarily an objection, lengthening *in arsi* occurring from time to time elsewhere in *Delos*, cf. 14 ὕδατος, 304 ὑπᾱείδουσι, etc. Yet I am far from certain that the reading of G represents the original text, and would prefer to print †ὑποδινηθεῖσα†.

χοροῦ ἀπεπαύσατο: *Il.* 1, 422 πολεμοῦ δ' ἀποπαύεο; cf. also χοροῖο ... λήγοντα in *Il.* 3, 394. Ἀπεπαύσατο is not Homeric, but ἐπαύσατο is (*Od.* 5, 391*, etc.). For the hiatus between a longum and a disyllabic biceps see *Introd.*, ch. 4.4.4.

νύμφη: regularly in this *sedes* in Homer and Hesiod; with enjambement also in *Il.* 6, 21 f. νύμφη | νηΐς Ἀβαρβαρέη.

80. αὐτόχθων Μελίη: Melia is mentioned as a daughter of Oceanus in *Nosti* fr. XII, p. 143 OCT and Pi. *pae.* 7, 4; 9, 43. Here αὐτοχθών, which is hardly ever found in poetry (cf. E. *Ion* 29, Ar. *V.* 1076), will refer to Hes. *Th.* 107, where the Meliai, probably identical with the Dryads, are said to have sprung from the Earth. See West *ad loc.*; Pf. on fr. 598; McLennan, *Zeus*, 78.

It should be noted that no mention is made whatsoever of Melia's flight; in fact, we may assume that she does not fly at all, no more than Peneius (121 ff.) later. In mythology, Melia is mentioned as one of Apollo's mistresses, cf. Pi. *P.* 11, 3 ff.; Paus. 9, 10, 5; 26, 1. For Melia associated in cult with Apollo Ismenios see Hamdorf, *Kultpersonif.* 84, *test.* 144.

ὑπόχλοον ἔσχε παρείην: cf. *Il.* 3, 35* ὦχρος τέ μιν εἷλε παρειάς. Apart from Nonnus, ὑπόχλοος is not found elsewhere, and so considered to be a Callimachean variant of ὑπόχλωρος (Arist., Hp., Sor.; see Schmitt, *Nom.* 55 n. 22; cf. also *Il.* 7, 479 χλωρὸν δέος, 10, 376 χλωρὸς ὑπαὶ δείους). For ὑπο- in such compounds denoting colour cf. ὑπόγλαυκος, ὑπέρυθρος, ὑπόξανθος, etc.; other compounds with -χλοος / χλους are εὔχλοος (S. *OC* 1600), δονακόχλοος (E. *IT* 400) and ἄχλοος (E. *HL* 1327), while Nicander has ἐγ-, κακό- and μεσόχλοος. Because of the floral connotations of these adjectives, ὑπόχλοος applies particularly well to Melia here.

For ἔσχε 'she got' cf. *Od.* 14, 490, B. 5, 104, etc., see *LSJ s.v.* ἔχω A I. Of παρειά, Homer has only the plural, using παρήιον for the singular; the use of παρειά in the sing. is Tragic: A. *Pr.* 400, S. *Ant.* 530, E. *Hc.* 410, etc.

81. ἥλικος ... περὶ δρυός: a special kind of tree-nymph called Ἁμαδρυάδες, was said to be born simultaneously with some tree, and to die when that tree withered, cf. *h.Ven.* 264 f. τῇσι δ' ἅμ' ἢ ἐλάται ἠὲ δρύες ὑψικάρηνοι / γεινομένῃσιν ἔφυσαν, Pi. fr. 165 ἰσοδένδρου τέκμαρ αἰῶνος ... λαχοῖσα, A.R. 2, 477 ff., see Nilsson, *GGR* I, 246 f. The point here is, that when Melia is a Hamadryad, her life is now at stake; hence the sudden interruption of the poet in the next line about whether this tale should be true or not. For a remarkable parallel use of ἧλιξ cf. A. *Ch.* 609 παιδὸς ... δαλὸν ἥλικα, of the log of wood with which Meleager's life was bound; the word is a Homeric *unicum*, *Od.* 18, 373* (ἥλικες).

Since Melia is an ash-nymph, δρῦς has the general sense of 'tree' here, cf. Schol. *Il.* 11, 86, E. *Cyc.* 615 (with Ussher's note), Thphr. *HP* 3, 8, 2.

For περί with verbs of anxiety cf. *Il.* 10, 240; 20, 17; S. *Ph.* 621, etc.

ἀσθμαίνουσα: *h.Ap.* 359*, cf. *Il.* 18, 826* ἀσθμαίνοντα. Melia's panting is not caused by her previous dancing, of course, but by her anxiety about the dangerous situation of her tree. For this use of ἀσθμαίνω cf. *Il.* 10, 496 (of someone having a nightmare) and 5, 585 (of a soldier mortally wounded).

ὡς ἴδε: with a participle also in *Il.* 10, 516; 13, 495; *Od.* 8, 286; 22, 148, *al.*, never in this *sedes.*

χαίτην: first used here referring to the trees growing around the top of some mountain; cf. the parallel use of κόμη in *Od.* 23, 195 (κόμην τανυφύλλου ἐλαίης) and the Callimachean variant ὄρος κεκομημένον ὕλῃ for the Homeric ὄρος καταειμένον ὕλῃ. See Bornmann on *H.* 3, 41; Herter, *KuH.* 77 f. n. 2. The use of χαίτη to denote tiny hairs on plants in Theoc. 6, 16 and Nicander, *passim*, is a different kind of metaphor (not implying personification), and should not have been compared by Gow with the use in Call.

81 f. χαίτην / σειομένην Ἑλικῶνος: according to Howald-Staiger's note (cf. Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 176 f.), these words should indicate that also Helicon starts to flee. That is, however, far from certain: it is possible that the shaking of the mountain's head only indicates his refusal to accept Leto; cf. the use of κάρα σείοντες in S. *Ant.* 291, where Jebb refers to the Sophoclean use of ἀναχαιτίζειν for ἀπείθειν καὶ ἀντιτείνειν (from Suidas). It would be quite a shame, too, if the mountain of the Muses would flee before Leto; the refusal is already almost too bad.

For χαίτην σείω cf. Anacr. 422 Page, E. *Cyc.* 75, *Md.* 1191, 1194; for σειομένην cf. *Il.* 13, 558* (-ον), Hes. *Th.* 680* (-ος), *Sc.* 299* σειόμενος φύλλοισι. In *Il.* 20, 59 f., Homer mentions the 'shaking feet' of Mt. Ida, but that does not imply a complete personification as here and in E. *Ba.* 726 πᾶν δὲ συνεβάκχευ' ὄρος (see Dodd's note).

82. ἐμαὶ θεαὶ εἴπατε, Μοῦσαι, etc.: a surprising interruption. 'My goddesses, tell me, Muses, is it true that oaks came into being at the same time as Nymphs? "Nymphs rejoice when rain makes the oaks to grow, contrariwise they weep when the oaks have lost their leaves"' (Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 177; for 'oaks' read rather 'trees').

The question to the Muses followed immediately by its answer is a device well-known from epic, as e.g. in *Il.* 2, 761 τίς τ' ἂρ τῶν ὄχ' ἄριστος ἔην, σύ μοι ἔννεπε Μοῦσα, cf. Hes. *Th.* 114 f. with West's note; Führer, *Formproblemunters.*, 58 n. 82. Therefore I subscribe to the current view that lines 84+85 indeed contain the Muses' answer (see Heichelheim, *RE* XVII.2, 1542), though other views are possible: G. Coppola, *Cirene e il nuovo Callimaco* (Bologna 1935), 140, thought of a quotation from another poem, Cahen of a self-reply of the poet (*Call.*, 395, cf. McLennan, *Zeus*, 35) and

Körte-Händel, *Hellenistische Dichtung* (Stuttgart [2]1960), 36, of a popular saw. In my view, then, the passage must be interpreted as follows: Out of his concern for Melia the poet suddenly puts on scholarly airs and questions the Muses on the Hamadryad problem, the mentioning of Helicon (cf. Hes. *Th.* 1 f., 7) having prepared the way for their appearance on the stage (see Howald-Staiger, 101, 109). Their answer, though given slightly *per ambages*, is yet open to only one explanation: Melia is safe, for the Hamadryads only *change their moods* according to the state of their tree and so do not die simultaneously with them. The question has an evident connexion with Callimachus' work Περὶ νυμφῶν, which he may have been working on already when writing this hymn. See fr. 413; Wilamowitz, *HD* II, 67 n. 2.

For the phonetic symmetry of the line, an archaic feature according to McKay (*Erys.*, 117), cf. the Muses' answer in Hes. *Th.* 27 f. ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα, | ἴδμεν δ' εὖτ' ἐθέλωμεν ἀληθέα γηρύσασθαι, and that in Thgn. 17 ὅττι καλὸν φίλον ἐστί, | τὸ δ' οὐ καλὸν οὐ φίλον ἐστί. See Fehling, *Wiederholungsfig.*, 322; Meyer, *Hymn. Stilel.*, 45.

For θεαὶ ... Μοῦσαι cf. Hes. *Sc.* 205 f. θεαί ... / Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες, for εἴπατε Μοῦσαι cf. *Od.* 1, 1 ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, *h.* 32, 1* ἔσπετε, Μοῦσαι, *h.Ven.* 1 Μοῦσα, ἔννεπε. Εἴπατε occurs in Hes. *Th.* 108 after a salute to the Muses (see West's note) and 115: see Reinsch-Werner, *Call. hes.*, 190.

For the confidential ἐμός with a god's name cf. Call. *ep.* 45, 3 ἐμὸς Ἑρμῆς. There seems to be no other instance where a Muse invoked gets a possessive pronoun, φίλος being found at most (Alexios fr. 161, Herond. 3, 1, Theoc. 1, 64, etc.), see the material collected by O. Falter, *Der Dichter und sein Gott* (Würzburg 1934), 34 ff. But Pindar, *N.* 3, 1 f. has ὦ πότνια Μοῦσα, μᾶτερ ἁμετέρα. (Ov. *F.* 2, 359 *mea Musa* may derive directly from Call.). The possessive is especially to the point here if my supposition is right that *Delos* was written shortly after Callimachus' admission to the Museum. At the first recitation, the poet probably could have actually turned to the Muses, whose statues would have been erected in the Museum-building: see *Introd.*, ch. 2.1.10.

For the absence of any introductory or conclusive formula see *Introd.*, ch. 3.2.3.

83. ἦ ῥ' ἐτεόν: a not elsewhere attested and so possibly Callimachean combination of interrogative ἦ ῥ' (after εἰπέ in *Il.* 9, 674 and 11, 820; see Denn., 284; *LfgrE s.v.* ἄρα, col. 1131) and εἰ (δ') ἐτεόν (*Il.* 7, 359*; 12, 233*, etc.), cf. also 15, 53 ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ ῥ' ἐτεόν γε. In Homer, ἐτεόν is never followed by a word starting with a vowel, but comparable instances are *Il.* 3, 24 κεραὸν ἤ and 1, 226 πόλεμον ἅμα. See *Introd.*, ch. 4.3.2 (2).

ἐγένοντο: Howald-Staiger and Mair render the past tense by a present, but in this question the aorist can hardly be gnomic. Call. here evidently, in the Hesiodic vein, refers to the early mythical stage when the Nymphs came into

being, the past tense already giving away the poet's idea that nowadays no new Nymphs grow any more, since the old ones are still alive and well. The answer of the Muses with its present tenses does not reflect on the question of the Nymphs' origin, but by stating the present situation allows a conclusion on the coevity-problem.

τότε ... ἤνικα: also in E. *IA* 347 f., cf. *Ion* 977, *Md.* 800; Homer has τότε ... ὅπποτε ..., cf. *Il.* 16, 244 f.; 22, 365. Note the polyptoton δρυός (81) ... δρύες (83) ... δρύας (84) ... δρυσί (85). See above, 2 n.

84 f. μὲν ... δ' αὖ: generally contrasts different persons or groups in Homer (cf. *Il.* 6, 227 ff., *Od.* 3, 86 ff.); in *Il.* 4, 415 ff., however, the contrast is between two different situations of one and the same person, as here.

84. ὅτε: for its use with a present tense cf. *Il.* 2, 471, *Od.* 18, 367, *al.*; see Chantr. II, 241. For a comparable pair of lines with ὅτε twice see Theoc. 11, 22 f. φοιτῇς δ' αὖθ' οὕτως ὄκκα γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἔχῃ με, / οἴχῃ δ' εὐθὺς ἰοῖσ' ὄκκα γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἀνῇ με.

δρύας: this plural accusative also in S. fr. 403 Pearson, the only epic accusative attested being δρῦς (Hes. *Op.* 509). In Homer, comparable accusatives on -υας are always followed by a word starting with a consonant, with the exception of ὀφρύας in *Od.* 9, 389* and ἰχθύας in 22, 384*; see Chantr. I, 222.

ὄμβρος ἀέξει: *Od.* 9, 111* and 358*, cf. the variations in 11, 195 and *Il.* 6, 261.

85. δρυσί: with the υ short, as in Homer. See Chantr. I, 222.

μηκέτι: this is the apparent reading of *P.Oxy.* here (see Pfeiffer's *apparatus*), and in view to the οὐκέτι of Ψ the *lectio difficilior.* Μή is apt, of course, in such a proverbial utterance, cf. *Od.* 17, 320 f. δμῶες δ', εὖτ' ἂν μηκέτ' ἐπικρατέωσιν ἄνακτες, οὐκέτ' ἔπειτ' ἐθέλουσιν ἐναίσιμα ἐργάζεσθαι, but it is very unusual in a nominal phrase, with a subjunctive to be supplied. Οὐκέτ(ι) is quite common in this *sedes* in poetry (whereas μηκέτι is never found there), cf. *Il.* 8, 352; 17, 238, etc. It is also common in nominal sentences, cf. *Od.* 18, 215; 22, 226, etc. It is not impossible, of course, that δρυσιμ in *P.Oxy.* is a mere error for δρυσίν, the papyrus being far from faultless elsewhere also. *P.Alex.* (inv. 547), too, has δρυσὶν [οὐκέτι (see A. Concolino Mancini, *Ann.Scuol.Norm.Sup.Pisa* 2, 1972, 504), while Proclus *in Plat. Remp.* 11, p. 384 (quoted by Pf.) offers the variant ὅτε δρυσὶν οὐκ ἔνι φύλλα.

86-99. First 'prophecy' of fetal Apollo from his mother's womb. 'Thebe, my oracle at Delphi may not be in existence yet: even so I predict to you that this country soon will be the scene of the killing of Niobe's children, and therefore I want to keep clear of you.'

That divine babies tend to precociousness is well-known from mythology: so the Homeric Hymn to Hermes 17f. tells how the infant ἠῷος γεγονὼς μέσῳ ἤματι ἐγκιθάριζεν, ἑσπέριος βοῦς κλέψεν ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος. For Apollo's own activities in this respect cf. *h.Ap.* 127ff. and E. *IT* 1249ff. The bland introduction, however, of an Apollo prophesying from his mother's womb must have been a surprising novelty even for a Hellenistic audience. There are a few more instances in mythology of precocious activities of foetuses, as e.g. the fighting of the twins Krisos and Panopeus told in Hes. fr. 58, 10ff., cf. Apld. 2, 2, 1 with Frazer's note, and see Herter, *KuH.* 61 n. 3. But the idea of an articulate foetus seems completely new. As l. 189 of *Delos* suggests, the existence of ἐγγαστριμάντεις or -μυθοι perhaps prompted this idea to Call.; inspiration might have come also from the Euripidean circumscription for Delphi as an ὀμφαλὸν γῆς θεσπιῳδόν, which could have been transferred from Ge to Leto by our poet, embellishing this goddess literally with an 'oracle-chanting navel'.

C. Meiller, *o.c.* (*Introd.*, cf. 2.1 note 1), 314, note 82, suggests that there could be intended here by Call. another allusion to a theory of Herophilus (see above, 48 n.), viz. about pre-natal foetal movement: according to H., this would be purely mechanical, and consequently real living would begin only after birth and the starting of breathing. (See also Most, *art. cit.* (48 n.), 193 n. 13). But that Call. here reflects this theory by making Apollo speak (and so breathe, of course) already in Leto's womb is not overall clear to me.

For a curious and also almost isolated instance of a prophesying foetus in Latin cf. Liv. 24, 10, 10 ... *infantem in utero matris in Marrucinis 'Io triumphe' clamasse* (cf. also 21, 62, 2 and 45, 38, 12).

Critics have reacted differently to this possibly Callimachean invention. Bethe thought it "eine unerreichte Geschmacklosigkeit", Cahen "un trait de mauvais goût", Cantarella "barocca e di gusto molto dubbio", Croiset a "hardiesse peut-être blamâble". One of the first to savour the humour of the passage was F. Dornseiff, *Die Archaische Mythenerzählung* (Berlin/Leipzig 1933), 75, suggesting that the scene was intended as a parody on Apollo's remarkable growth as described in the Homeric Hymn (127ff.), from which the conclusion is evident that Apollo must have been quite a personality already in Leto's womb.

As Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 149, points out, the main motivation for the Thebe-scene seems to be to prepare the reader for the great *vaticinium* of 162ff., because otherwise he would be too distracted by the shock-effect of "an articulate, prophetic foetus" if Apollo were only then put on the stage as such; as a second reason, he mentions the possibility that the reader in this way becomes familiar with the idea that rejecting Apollo may involve punishment (and, reversely, that accepting him yields praise; cf. also above, l. 8), which offers the dramatic motivation for some of the scenes to follow (Bura and Helice, Peneius, Cos).

As for the reason why Call. chose Thebes I suggest that he in this way could hint at a recent event concerning the Ptolemaic Court: see below, 96 n.

86. ταῖς μέν: refers to "Melie mit ihrem Chor 79" according to Wilamowitz (*HD* II, 67 n. 4); to Dirce, Strophie and Melie according to Howald-Staiger (110 note). Both are likely to be wrong, since it is probable that Melia did not fly at all; see above, 80 n. I prefer the vaguer explanation of the Scholiast: ταῖς μὴ δεξαμέναις δηλαδὴ τὴν Λητώ. The feminine is surprising, of course, Pheneios, Ismenos and Asopos being included no doubt, too; but likewise in *h.Ap.* 47 the poet with αἵ δέ refers to all islands, cities and mountains just mentioned: the idea of the eponymous nymphs would have been uppermost in both poets' minds. To write τοῖς μέν, as Schneider does, is to take the easier way, which was not much trodden by Hellenistic poets.

ἔτ': goes with ὑποκόλπιος, cf. 189 τὸν εἰσέτι γαστέρα μάντιν. For the hyperbaton cf. *Il.* 17, 379 f. ἔτ ... ζωόν, and Theoc. 2, 137, with Gow's note.

'Απόλλων: in the *LfgrE s.v.* col. 1096, no certain example of the nominative with the α long is listed; 'Απόλλωνος, -ωνι and -ωνα however, are quite common in this *sedes*.

ὑποκόλπιος = 'in his mother's womb' is not found in older literature, while later writers use it to denote other things, viz. 'lying on the bosom' or 'concealed in the folds of the robe' (see *LSJ*). Κόλπος = 'womb' also in *H.* 1, 15 (see McLennan's note), 4, 214 and fr. 7, 9: a non-Homeric usage (first in E. *Hl.* 1145?). For ὑπο- 'deep in' cf. compounds such as ὑποταρτάριος (Hom.), ὑποκάρδιος (Theoc.), etc.

'Υποκόλπιος is possibly an allusion to the Apolline cult-epithet Δελφίνιος, explained in *h.Ap.* 493 ff. as referring to the god's metamorphosis into a dolphin, but in Hellenistic times also associated with the dragon's name Δελφύνη (cf. Call. fr. 88), and so again with δελφύς 'womb': see Schwyzer I, 554 n. 4. For this kind of etymological play in Call. see the instances listed in Williams' Index *s.v. jeu étymologique*.

αἰνά: three times in Homer as an adverb, αἰνῶς being far more common. With such verbs as χώομαι, χολόω and κοτέω always αἰνῶς is found; in *Od.* 22, 447 αἰνά goes with ὀλοφύρομαι, see *LfgrE s.v.*

χολώθη: *Il.* 4, 494*; 13, 660*.

87. φθέγξατο: Hes. *Th.* 168*, cf. *Il.* 18, 218. For φθέγγομαι said of Apolline utterances at Delphi cf. E. *Ion* 728 f. εἴ τις Λόξιας ... ἐφθέγξατο, cf. *Andr.* 1147, *IT* 1385; Führer, *Formproblemunters.*, 26 ff. — In *Il.* 21, 213 φθέγξατο precedes (but not properly introduces) direct speech; in a real introductory formula it is found only in E. *Ba.* 1549 and *IT* 1385. See *Introd.*, ch. 3.2.1(a).

οὐκ ἀτέλεστον: also in *Il.* 4, 57, cf. 4, 168 and *Od.* 18, 345 οὐκ ἀτέλεστα, *Od.* 2, 273 οὐδ' ἀτέλεστος; in the same *sedes* we find only μηδ' ἀτέλεστον in *h.Cer.* 323, and, without negation, in *Od.* 16, 111.

ἀπείλησας: *Il.* 7, 225*; 20, 161*; 21, 452*; *Od.* 20, 272; 21, 368*; generally with a verb of speaking. In the first and the last instance before direct speech, as here in *Delos*.

ἐπὶ Θήβῃ: cf. ἐνὶ Θήβῃ in *Il.* 14, 323*, 19, 99*, Hes. *Th.* 978* and *h.Ap.* 226*. The plural is found as well, cf. *Il.* 5, 804; 6, 223, E. *Ba.* 23, etc.; but "The singular harmonizes with the idea of an eponymous nymph, while the plural does not" (Mc Kay, *Erys.* 148 n. 3. This applies for Pindar, too, see E. Thummer, *Pindar, Die Isthmische Gedichte* II, Heidelberg 1968, 10). In myth, Thebe is Asopus' daughter according to Pi. *I.* 8, 16 and Ba. 8, 54 (cf. Hdt. 5, 80, Diod. 4, 72), while she is the wife of Zethus (and so sister-in-law of Niobe, who married Amphion) in Hes. fr. 183. For representations of Thebe on coins and vases see Matz, *Naturpersonif.*, 76; Hamdorf, *Kultpersonif.*, 93 Test. 246.

For ἐπί + dative = 'against' cf. *Il.* 5, 124 ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι μάχεσθαι, 16, 751 ἐπὶ Κεβριόνῃ ... βεβήκει, etc., and see below, l. 172 ἐφ' Ἑλλήνεσσι. Since ἀπειλεῖν ἐπί τινι is not attested elsewhere, Schneider read ἀπείλησας ἔπι Θήβῃ, which would be the only instance in *Delos* of postpositional tmesis (well attested in Homer: see Chantr. II, 83).

88. Θήβη τίπτε τάλαινα: cf. *Il.* 6, 254* τέκνον, τίπτε 15, 90 Ἥρη, τίπτε, *Od.* 5, 339* κάμμορε, τίπτε, etc.; for the alliteration cf. *Il.* 18, 385 τίπτε, Θέτι τανύπεπλε. The repeated t-sound may be meant to express indignation or anger, or as an imitation of that feature in literature, cf. *Il.* 4, 340 τίπτε καταπτώσσοντες ἀφέστατε (for more Homeric instances see A. Shewan, *CPh* 20, 1925, 196ff.) and the celebrated S. *OT* 371 τυφλὸς τά τ' ὦτα τόν τε νοῦν τά τ' ὄμματ' εἶ. See Page on E. *Md.* 476; M. S. Silk, *Interaction in Poetic Imagery* (Cambridge 1974), 175f.

For the 'interrupted vocative' as a regular phenomenon in Hellenistic literature cf. *H.* 3, 225 πότνια, χαῖρε, Χιτώνη, with Bornmann's note.

Homer has only τάλαν (*Od.* 18, 327; 19, 68), the feminine being frequent in Tragedy, cf. A. *Ag.* 1070, S. *El.* 388, etc. See Schmitt, *Nom.*, 28 n. 17. The adjective anticipates the future state of Thebes, when the *vaticinium* will be fulfilled, cf. Verg. *Aen.* 9, 216 *matri miserae*, and see Schneider 318f. on l. 266.

τίπτε ... τὸν αὐτίκα πότμον ἐλέγχεις; Given the sequel, τὸν αὐτίκα πότμον naturally refers to Thebes' future fate as the city of Niobe (96), therefore = τὸ ἐσόμενόν σοι πότμον (Schol.) Ἐλέγχω then cannot have the Homeric meaning of 'put to shame' (cf. *Il.* 9, 522*, etc., and see A. H. W. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility*, Oxford 1960, 42ff.). Mair translates: "Thebe, wherefore ... dost thou *ask* the doom that shall be thine anon?" (cf. Howald-Staiger's "was *nötigst* du mich ..."), but that seems too flat for ἐλέγχω, being better rendered as 'why do you *test* / *bring to the proof* your coming destiny?' (cf. Cahen's "pourquoi forcer l'annonce de ton destin?"). It must be stressed,

however, that all this becomes clear only in the course of the next lines: another instance of the poet's fondness for causing temporary bewilderment to his audience.

89. μήπω μή μ' ἀέκοντα βιάζεο: cf. *Od.* 21, 348* τῶν οὔ τις μ' ἀέκοντα βιήσεται, etc. (see *LfgrE s.v.* ἀέκων, col. 174); Thgn. 547 μηδένα πω κακότητι βιάζεο. As in Homer, μή reinforces μήπω though being monosyllabic, cf. *Od.* 24, 246 f. οὐδέ τι πάμπαν / οὐ φυτόν, see Chantr. II, 338. As a combination, μήπω μή seems unique in Greek, but cf. expressions such as μὴ μηδαμά / -μη / -μως (see *LSJ*).

Note the play with the double meaning of οὔπω / μήπω: in 89, 'not at all' is the required sense, in 90 'not yet'. See B. A. van Groningen, *In the Grip of the Past* (Leiden 1953), 13 f.

βιάζεο: *P.Alex.* here offers a variant, formerly read as ΣΥΣ..ΕΟ by Viereck (see Pfeiffer's *apparatus*), which was completed by Barigazzi to σὺ σεύεο. Recent investigation has made clear, however, that the third letter can hardly be a Σ, the only trace visible being a vertical stroke: see Concolino Mancini, *o.c.* (85 n.), 504 f. The text could either have presented a later 'banalization' of βιάζεο, as e.g. σὺ κέλεο for κέκλεο (so Conc. Mancini) or an obscure verb-form, glossed by βιάζεο *in margine*, the horizontal stroke above συ ... εο possibly being a reference-mark to such a marginal note. W. G. Arnott already proposed σὺ εἴλλεο, but this is—as he admits himself—virtually excluded by the hiatus (see *Introd.*, ch. 4.4.4).

μαντεύεσθαι: always at the end of the line in Homer (*Il.* 1, 107*, *Od.* 2, 180*; 20, 380*). For the spondaic ending see *Introd.*, ch. 4.1.3. Note also the spondaic beginnings of 89 and 90, alongside the lofty expressions τριποδήιος ἕδρη (90) and θήριον αἰνογένειον (92), all humorously marking the opiniated speech of the divine foetus.

90. οὔπω: for the repetition cf. *h.Ap.* 226 f. οὐ γάρ πώ τις ἔναιε βροτῶν ἱερῇ ἐνὶ Θήβῃ (!), / οὐ δ' ἄρα πω τότε γ' ἦσαν ἀταρπιτοὶ οὐδὲ κέλευθοι.

οὔπω μοι μέλει: these words indirectly point out that Leto did not appeal to Delphi; not because that region would not have been able to refuse, as Wilamowitz explains (*HD* II, 68), for the Ismenus and the Helicon, both later 'Apolline' territory, were inhospitable, too, but because the affair of the killing of the Python was bound to come only after Apollo's birth.

τριποδήιος ἕδρη: an unparallelled circumscription for τρίπο(υ)ς. Expressions like this with ἕδος or ἕδρα are not uncommon in Tragedy and Lyric poetry, cf. E. *Ion* 130 μαντεῖον ἕδραν, S. *Ai.* 460 ναύλοχοι ἕδραι, Pi. *O.* 5, 8 νέοικος ἕδρα.

Starting from Homeric πολεμήιος, many new epicising formations with -ήιος have been created later, as e.g. θαλαμήιος, ποταμήιος and Ἐνετήιος: see H. Erbse, *H.* 81 (1953), 164. Schmitt's comment (*Nom.* 42 n. 1) that

τριποδήιος is a "metrisch bedingte Augenblicksbildung" of our poet can of course not be proved, but is certainly plausible. That it is suggested here that Apollo would take his place later on the tripod himself, as Cahen maintains (*Comm.*, 173), can certainly not be infered from 1. 90, the expression τριποδήιος ἕδρη being far too vague for that.

91. οὐδέ τί πω: *Il.* 2, 252*, *Od.* 3, 23; 14, 509*. For οὐδέ τί πω τέθνηκεν ..., ἀλλ' ἔτι ... cf. *Od.* 1, 196f. (~ 11, 461 f.) οὐ γάρ πω τέθνηκεν ..., / ἀλλ' ἔτι που ζωὸς κατερύκεται.

τέθνηκεν: always in this *sedes* in Homer: *Il.* 18, 12*, *Od.* 1, 196*, etc. It is slightly surprising that Apollo does not allude here to the fact that the slaying of the dragon will be his own doing, cf. *h.Ap.* 356ff., E. *IT* 1244, Call. *H.* 2, 100f.

ὄφις μέγας: cf. Hes. *Th.* 299 (~ 334) ὄφιν δεινόν τε μέγαν τε, fr. 33a, 17 and 204, 136 δεινὸς ὄφις, Call. *H.* 2, 101 αἰνὸς ὄφις, with Williams' note. The dragon is represented as masculine here, as in E. *IT* 1244f. (ποικιλόνωτος ... οἰνωπὸς δράκων), but feminine in *h.Ap.* 300ff. (δράκαιναν ... μεγάλην) and Call. fr. 88, where she is called Δέλφυνα. See Wilamowitz, *HD* II, 68 n. 1; J. Fontenrose, *Python* (Berkeley-Los Angeles 1959), 13ff., esp. 14 n. 4. The enormous size of the snake is specified later in 93 (ἐννέα κύκλοις).

ἀλλ' ἔτι κεῖνο: cf. *Il.* 9, 111*, 259* and 11, 730 ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν, 9, 678* and 21, 305* ἀλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον. For the enjambement κεῖνο / θήριον see above, 73 n. For κεῖνος referring to the foregoing see above, 11 n.

92. θήριον: twice in Homer (*Od.* 10, 171, 180), of a huge stag. It rarely denotes a monster elsewhere, cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 230a (Typhon), Hdt. 6, 44 (sharks), etc., see *LSJ.*

αἰνογένειον: only here in Greek; evidently a (Callimachean?) variant of Homeric ἠυγένειος, which either means 'well-maned' (of a lion, *Il.* 15, 275, *Od.* 4, 456, etc.), or 'well-bearded' (of Pan, *h.* 19, 39). For representations of bearded snakes see Nilsson, *GGR* I, 413 (relief of the 4th century B.C.); II, Taf. 3, 1 (Agathos Daimon, Hellenistic; cf. Fraser, *PA* I, 209ff.; II, 356). Typhon, too, who is closely related to Python (see Fontenrose, *o.c.* (91 n.), 77ff.), is sometimes described and represented with shaggy hair, cf. Pi. *P.* 1, 19 στέρνα λαχνάεντα, Apld. 1, 6, 3 αὐχμηραὶ δὲ ἐκ κεφαλῆς καὶ γενύων τρίχες ἐξηνεμῶντο. It is, however, also possible that Call. was already familiar with the explanation of ἠυγένειος = 'with a big jaw', as is unmistakably the case in Opp. *Hal.* 2, 565 (δελφὶς δ' ἠυγένειος). In that case, αἰνογένειον may be an intentional ambiguity. See G. Giangrande, *Eranos* 68 (1970), 88f.

Πλειστοῖο: the small river flowing from the south-eastern part of the Parnassus into the Corinthian Gulf passing Delphi, first mentioned in A. *Eu.*

27. For the accentuation see Fraenkel's *apparatus* on A.R. 2, 711 and the Schol. *ad loc.*

καθέρπον: the prefix gave offense to some earlier commentators, since they found it hard to see how the snake creeping *down* along the Pleistos, wreathed the top with its coils; hence ἀν-, παρ- and ποθέρπον were proposed (Meineke, Schneider). There is no problem at all, however, when καθέρπον is not explained as actually 'creeping down', but as describing a situation: 'lying, stretching', from the mountain-top through the Pleistos-vale towards Delphi; a position in which the snake could conveniently perform its task of watching over the old shrine of Ge and Themis, cf. E. *IT* 1244; Wilam., *HD* II, 68 n. 1. For the metaphorical use of καθέρπω cf. X. *Smp.* 4, 23 παρὰ τὰ ὦτα ἄρτι ἴουλος καθέρπει. The usage is found also with comparable verbs of movement, such as περιτρέχω and περιέρχομαι. That a fixed position and not a movement is meant is also implied by 93 περιστέφει.

For the rhyme (αἰνογένειον ... καθέρπον) see McLennan, *Zeus*, 30 (hexameter 'leoninus').

93. Παρνησὸν νιφόεντα: also in *h.Ap.* 282 (but at the end of the line) and Panyass. fr. 15* (-νησσ-); cf. S. *OT* 474f. τοῦ νιφόεντος ... Παρνησοῦ, E. *Pho.* 206 δειράσι νιφοβόλοις Παρνασοῦ, Posidipp. 114, 3 Page Παρνησοῦ νιφόεντος. See Kienzle, *o.c.* (1 n.), 25. The traditional epithet may be considered functional because of the contrast of the snow-clad mountain and the monster's tail around it.

περιστέφει: apparently derived from *Od.* 5, 303* οἵοισιν νεφέεσσι περιστέφει οὐρανὸν εὐρύν, the compound not being attested elsewhere before Call.

ἐννέα κύκλοις: the detail of the *nine* coils is found only here. According to Statius, Python lay with seven coils around Delphi (*Theb.* 1, 563f.; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 5, 85), while other writers do not present a definite number: cf. Claudian. *in Ruf. praef.* 4 *(qui spiris tegeret montes)*, Sid. Ap. *Carm.* 2, 155, Dion. Per. 443. Menander Rhetor III, p. 441 Spengel speaks of a dragon, son of Ge, a creature of miraculous nature, actually hiding Parnassus from sight with its coils (τοῦτο τοίνυν ἐκάλυπτε μὲν ταῖς σπειραῖς καὶ τοῖς ἑλιγμοῖς, καὶ ἦν τοῦ ὄρους γυμνὸν οὐδέν. Cf. Fontenrose, *Python*, 80f.). Ἐννέα of course may indicate just a great number, as in the description of Otus and Ephialtes in *Od.* 11, 311f. ἐννέωροι γάρ τοί γε καὶ ἐννεαπήχεες ἦσαν / εὖρος, ἀτὰρ μῆκός γε γενέσθην ἐννεόργυιοι. On the other hand, the number nine is regularly connected symbolically with Apollo: see W. H. Roscher, "Sieben- und Neunzahl im Kultus und Mythus der Griechen," *SbLeipz.* 24, 1 (1906), 54ff.; 24, 6, 210ff.

94. ἀλλ' ἔμπης ἐρέω: a new blending of ἀλλ' ἔμπης (*Il.* 8, 33*, 464*, *Od.* 14, 214*, etc.) and formulae such as ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς ἐρέω (*Il.* 24, 106, *Od.* 19,

171, *al.*), ἀλλ' ἔκ τοι ἐρέω (*Il.* 1, 204, *al.*), and ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω (1, 297, *al.*).

τι: frequently also in Homer before the adjective it goes with, cf. *Od.* 18, 107 τι κακὸν καὶ μεῖζον, *Il.* 19, 321 τι κακώτερον, etc.

τομώτερον: this is the text of Ψ and *P.Alex.*; that of *P.Bodl.* cannot be made out any more (see Pfeiffer's *apparatus*). Τομός = 'sharp', said of a knife in S. *Ai.* 815, of an ox-goad or an axe in Timo fr. 4, 1* Diels = *Suppl. Hellen.*, 778, 1 (βουπλῆγα τομώτερον ἢ Λυκόοργος), cf. Pl. *Ti.* 61e; it is used metaphorically in Ps.-Phocyl. 124 ὅπλον τοι λόγος ἀνδρὶ τομώτερόν ἐστι σιδήρου and *Ep. Hebr.* 4, 12 λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ... τομώτερος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν. It is found also in Call. fr. 220 (νεήκων οἱ τομώτατοι, '*iuniorum acutissimi*', Pf.) and possibly in *Ia.* fr. 194, 30 κῆπος οὐ τομ[ὸν λαοῖ]ς, see Terzaghi, *Aeg.* 31 (1951), 173 f. The sense here therefore could be: 'It is true, Thebe, that the Delphic oracle is not operating yet; all the same I will say something to you, and more poignant than from the laurel at that.'

Though this seems quite satisfactory, some commentators have made a strong plea for Canter's conjecture τορώτερον. According to Danielsson (*o.c.* (1 n.), 90 ff.) this word would far better denote the trustworthiness of Apollo's remark, which would be at stake here, since ἀπὸ δάφνης here would be identical with ἀπὸ τρίποδος, which is proverbial for truth and reliability, cf. Zenob. 6, 3, Diogenian. 8, 21. However, that τορός would denote something like 'dependable' does not at all appear from the instances cited in *LSJ*; moreover, it is not so very likely that Apollo would characterize his Delphic oracle as less dependable, and the contrast is probably not between reliability and falsehood, but between the straightforwardness of the present utterance and the well-known blurred character of the Delphic oracles. Τομώτερον, then, is preferable as it is presented by all sources, belonging to Callimachean idiom and giving satisfactory sense.

ἀπὸ δάφνης: cf. *h.Ap.* 396 χρείων ἐκ δάφνης. The tripod from which the Pythia uttered her sounds was wreathed with laurel, cf. Call. *Ia.* fr. 194, 26 f. καὶ Πυθίη γὰρ ἐν δάφνῃ μὲν ἵδρυται, / δάφνην δ' ἀείδει καὶ δάφνην ὑπέστρωται. So ἀπὸ δάφνης here no doubt is equivalent to ἀπὸ/ἐκ τρίποδος, and Schneider's criticism that the representation here of Apollo prophesying *insidentem lauro arbori* is absurd can quietly be dismissed.

The choice of ἀπό was perhaps influenced by the celebrated expression οὐ ... ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης in *Il.* 22, 126 *al.*, which in Antiquity was explained by some as referring to the oracles of Dodona and Delphi respectively. See E. M. Bradley, *Symb. Osl.* 44 (1969), 7 ff.; West, *Theog.*, 168.

Lastly I suggest the possibility that for an Alexandrian audience τομώτερον ἢ ἀπὸ δάφνης could contain a sneer at the address of the great sanctuary of Apollo ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ near Antioch, forming part of the Seleucid Empire, with which Ptolemy was not at all on friendly terms at the time: see Will I, 125 ff.

It is not certain, however, that the sanctuary already had an oracle in Callimachus' time, see Nilsson, *GGR* I, 165, 475.

95. πρόσω: 'onwards, forwards', generally with verbs of movement from Homer onward. For the combination with φεύγειν cf. A. *Eu.* 118 οἴχεται φεύγων πρόσω, S. *El.* 391 ὅπως ... ὡς προσώτατ' ἐκφύγω.

ταχινός: not attested before Call., who uses it again in *H.* 1, 56; 3, 158, and below, l. 114; cf. A.R. 2, 1044, Theoc. 2, 7, etc. To explain the formation, Schmitt (*Nom.* 111, n. 35) compares the pair πυκινός ~ πυκά; McLennan (*Zeus*, 92) offers a small list of other Hellenistic *Neubildungen* with the suffix. — For a 'nimble-footed Apollo' cf. E. *IT* 1269f. ταχύπους δ' ἐς Ὄλυπον όρ- / μαθεὶς ἄναξ. For the predicative use cf. below, 320 n.

95f. ταχινός σε κιχήσομαι etc.: 'Swiftly running I shall overtake you to wash my arrow (?) with blood.' For κιχάνω 'overtake' cf. *Il.* 6, 228 ὅν κε ... ποσσὶ κιχείω; for κιχήσομαι cf. *Il.* 10, 370*, *Od.* 14, 139*.

The idea of washing a *bow* with blood is surprising. In Greek, it is possible to say 'I shall wash my weapon (spear, arrows) in your blood' for 'I shall kill you', cf. Theoc. 22, 171 αἵματι ἔγχεα λοῦσαι, *A.P.* 6, 2, 1 ff. τόξα ... αἵματι λουσάμενα, 7, 443, 1 f. ὀιστούς / λοῦσεν ... φοινίσσᾳ θοῦρος Ἄρης ψακάδι (both by Simon. ?); cf. also the Tragic use of βάπτω, see *LSJ s.v.* Kuiper hence concluded that τόξον here would stand for 'arrows', which for the singular is extremely harsh, if not impossible (for τόξα = 'bow and/or arrows' see Jebb on S. *Ph.* 652). On the other hand, I could find no evidence of a rite in which a *bow* is dipped in the victim's blood after the killing, e.g. for reasons of purification or invigoration: see S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer*, I (Kristiania 1915), 436f.; J. H. Waszink, art. *Blut* in *RAC* II, cols. 459 ff. The only solution left is to suppose that Call. here created a new use for τόξον, viz. to denote a single arrow, since τόξα could mean 'arrows' (cf. S. *Ph.* 652, Pl. *Lg.* 815a, E. *HF* 1090, etc.). For another ambiguity with τόξα in Call. cf. *H.* 3, 312, with A. H. Griffiths' comment in *JHS* 90 (1970), 215.

96. τέκνα: Call. does not specify the number of the Niobids, which in the different accounts of the myth varies from five to twenty, cf. Hes. fr. 183; Frazer on Apld. 3, 5, 6. The omission can be connected with the allusion to the banishment of Arsinoe I to Koptos, see next note.

κακογλώσσοιο γυναικός: cf. *Il.* 1, 429*, Hes. *Sc.* 31* ἐυζώνοιο γυναικός, *Od.* 11, 384* κακῆς ἰότητι γυναικός. The epithet is found elsewhere only in E. *Hc.* 661, in a different sense (κακόγλωσσος βοή 'a cry of misery', *LSJ*). Here the context requires 'evil-uttering', cf. the counterpart εὔγλωσσος 'eloquent, sweet-sounding' in A. *Su.* 775, *A.P.* 9, 188, etc. Kuiper compares (p. 132) κακόθροος 'slanderous' in S. *Ai.* 138, and κακόστομος 'foulmouthed'

in E. *IA* 1001. See further Schmitt, *Nom.* 29 n. 41; Giannini, *Dioniso* 37 (1963), 56 n. 37.

It has been suggested by Ph.-E. Legrand, *REG* 7 (1894), 276, that there is a double meaning here, since it is plausible that an Alexandrian audience, on hearing the words 'punishment', 'Thebe', and 'slanderous woman' would have thought of the recent banishment of Arsinoe I to Koptos in the Thebaid on the charge of conspiracy against her husband Philadelphus. The date of the event is given as 279 B.C. by Volkmann (*KlP* I, 611) and as winter 276-5 by Tarn-Griffith, *Hell. Civ.*, 16; it will have occurred anyhow before 274, the earliest possible date for *Delos*. For a discussion of the principle source for the event, viz. Schol. Theoc. 17, 129, see G. H. Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens* (Baltimore 1932), 110f. and 120ff. The reference to Arsinoe's banishment is difficult only in that the combination of αἵματι (95) with τέκνα (96) suggests that Arsinoe's children, Berenice, Lysimachus and the later Ptolemy Euergetes, were actually murdered, which in fact did not occur. It is quite possible, however, that αἵματι refers to the killing of two of Arsinoe's fellow-conspirators, the physicians Amyntas and Chrysippus: see C. Gorteman, *Cd'E* 32 (1957), 321ff.; Fraser, *PA* I, 369. Line 96 then could imply that the children were banished to Koptos along with their mother, a fact not recorded in historical sources, but only too plausible, because of the eagerness of Arsinoe II to promote her own son Ptolemy, son of Lysimachus, as the future successor of Philadelphus to the Egyptian throne. It was only after the second Arsinoe's death in 270 B.C. that the three children of Arsinoe I were adopted by Philadelphus (see Macurdy, *o.c.*, *l.c.*; *pace* Gow, *Theoc.*, 334). So it is certainly possible that they had been temporarily put out of the way by being sent to the Thebaid along with their mother.

It is at first sight tempting to identify Callimachus' 'slanderous woman' with the ἄστοργος γυνή mentioned in Theoc. 17, 43, but the τέκνα mentioned there evidently are the unfaithful wife's illegitimate offspring, whereas in *Delos* τέκνα would refer to Philadelphus' own three children. To call these illegitimate would at the least be rather untactful, as Gow rightly maintains (p. 334).

That Apollo is here prophesying on future historical events is the more likely since in his second speech, too, he announces a future action of revenge of both himself and Philadelphus (171ff.). For another reference in Call. to avenging royalty see *H.* 2, 25ff. (with Williams' note) and, for Theocritus, *Id.* 14, 62 (on Philadelphus): εἰδὼς τὸν φιλέοντα, τὸν οὐ φιλέοντ' ἔτι μᾶλλον. It has been argued also that Theocritus' Λῆναι ἢ Βάκχαι, which bears some remarkable similarities to our hymn (Thebe; Cithaeron; punishment by Dionysus who may represent Ptolemy; Call. *H.* 4, 98 ~ Theoc. 26, 30), was written for the justification of some royal action: see Gow, *o.c.*, 483; F. T. Griffiths, *Theocritus at Court* (Leiden 1979), 101ff.

97. ἔλλαχες: cf. *h.Cer.* 86* ἔλλαχεν, 87 ἔλλαχε; elsewhere in Greek only single-λ forms are found. Homer likewise has ἔλλαβε, *Il.* 3, 34, *al.*; see also 15 n. For λαγχάνω see 74 n.

οὐ ... οὐδέ: *Od.* 3, 133; 10, 379, and frequently in Sophocles: see Ellendt-Genthe, *Index Soph.*, 569A.

οὐ σύ γ': *Il.* 5, 812; *Od.* 17, 455, 576; cf. μή σύ γ' *Od.* 12, 106*.

ἐμεῖο: possessive, as sometimes in Homer, e.g. *Il.* 6, 344 δᾶερ ἐμεῖο; see Chantr. II, 155, *pace* P. Lorentz, *Observationes de pronominum personalium apud poetas Alexandrinos usu* (Leipzig 1892), 8 f.

φίλη τροφός: φίλη τροφὸς Εὐρύκλεια is formulaic in the Odyssey, cf. 2, 361*; 4, 742*, and seven more times. The sense here is not metaphorical as in E. *Ba.* 105 ὦ Σεμέλης τροφοὶ Θῆβαι (cf. S. *OR* 1092, Pi. *P.* 2, 2, etc.), since Apollo is looking for a real τιθήνη, cf. l. 2 κουροτρόφον, with note.

Κιθαιρών: the mountain where Apollo killed Leto's male children: see Apld. 3, 5, 6, probably drawing on the Niobe of Aeschylus or Sophocles (cf. Pearson II, 96) or on Euphorion (cf. fr. 102 Pow.)

Leto's motive for calling on Thebe and Cithaeron was possibly the precedent of the birth of several of Zeus' illegitimate children in that region, viz. Heracles, Dionysus, and Amphion and Zethus. As to Cithaeron, it is obvious to think of the punishment of Pentheus by Dionysus there; for this motif see above, 76 n. It can hardly be accidental that the next line has a close similarity to l. 30 of Theocritus' Λῆναι ἢ Βάκχαι, which has Cithaeron as background; see also above, 96 n.

98. ἔσσεται: frequently in this *sedes* in early epic; with enjambement and followed by a stop also in *Il.* 4, 83*; 9, 416*; *Od.* 2, 137*, 204* and six more times.

For the correspondence of the verb with only the last of a double subject see Schwyzer II, 612, 3; in Homer, a combination of a second and third person as σύ + Κιθαιρών here, does not seem to be found. See Chantr. II, 19.

εὐαγέων δὲ καὶ εὐαγέεσσι μελοίμην: 'being pious myself I want to be the object of care of pious people.' The celebrated parallel is Theoc. 26, 30 αὐτὸς δ' εὐαγέοιμι καὶ εὐαγέεσσιν ἅδοιμι, but the relation between the two is not certain. Some scholars think Theocritus the imitator (see Kuiper, 132; Wilam., *HD* II, 68; Giangrande, *AC* 39, 1970, 65 ff.), others Callimachus (see the discussion in Gow *ad loc.*), the obvious third solution being the supposition that both are borrowing from a common source, such as a poem (cf. Wilam., *Die Textgeschichte der griechischen Bukoliker*, Berlin 1906, 212 n. 1) or a ritual formula. The last view, held by Gow (p. 483, cf. Mc Kay, *Antichth.* 1, 1967, 27) is based on the fact that εὐαγέω/-γής are regularly used in a ritual context, cf. *h.Dem.* 274 and 369, E. *Ba.* 1008, Orph. fr. 222 K., Ditt. *Syll.*³,

338, 4; see L. Moulinier, *Le pur et l'impur dans la pensée des Grecs* (Paris 1952), 284. For possible political implications see L. Koenen, *Cd'E* 34 (1959), 106ff.

Mc Kay (*l.c.*) rightly points out that the statement of loyalty to the god after a description of how a sinner is punished is of a traditional type, and that Call., in his well-known manner, gives it a humorous twist by making Apollo *himself* use it here. It therefore seems the more likely that Call. is borrowing here, but whether from Theocritus or from another source cannot be made out.

Εὐαγέων was interpreted by Reiske as the plural genitive of εὐαγής, a view evidently shared by Pfeiffer, since he lists εὐαγέων under εὐαγής in his Index. It is, however, far more naturally explained as the present participle of εὐαγέω, cf. E. *Ba.* 1008 εὐαγοῦντ' and, for the whole phrase, E. *Alc.* 10 ὁσίου γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ὅσιος ὢν ἐτύγχανον.

For εὐαγής = 'on good terms with the sacred, pious' see Chantr., *Dict. Ét.* 13B, also for the distinction between εὐᾰγής and εὐᾱγής 'bright, conspicuous', unjustly muddled up by Moulinier, *o.c.*, *l.c.*

Though being probably of ritual origin, εὐαγέεσσι μελοίμην still has an epic ring, cf. *Il.* 6, 492* *al.* ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει, 10, 282* Τρώεσσι μελήσει.

μελοίμην: the middle is found in Homer only four times (*Il.* 1, 523; 19, 343; *Od.* 10, 505; 22, 12), while also in later Greek its use is confined to poetry (the optative in S. *El.* 1436). The more 'exclusive' form fits the conclusion of Apollo's lofty speech well.

99. ὣς ἄρ' ἔφη· Λητὼ δέ: *Il.* 21, 502*, *h.Ap.* 83*. After the surprising speech of the divine foetus we are brought back to reality by a downright Homeric formula: see *LfgrE s.v.* ἄρα. In 153 and 228 below we find one further traditional speech-conclusion, viz. ἦ καί; elsewhere we only find varieties and novelties. See *Introd.*, ch. 3.2.1 (b).

μετάτροπος αὖτις ἐχώρει: μετάτροπος first in Hes. *Th.* 89* (metaph.), and rarely afterwards (Trag., Ar.). The compound used in Epic is ὑπότροπος, cf. *Il.* 6, 367 (≅ *Od.* 21, 211) ὑπότροπος ἵξομαι αὖτις, *h.Ap.* 476 ὑπότροποι αὖθις ἔσεσθε. Panyass. fr. 13, 5 has another variant: ἀπότροπος οἴκαδ' ἀπέλθοι. For αὖτις ἐχώρει cf. *Il.* 17, 533 ἐχώρησαν πάλιν αὖτις. So, as usual, Call. seems to have fused traditional epic formulae into a fresh combination.

For αὖτις 'back' cf. *Il.* 1, 347; 6, 391, etc.; Leto turns back in front of Thebe and again tries the Peloponnese. On αὖθις / αὖτις in Call. see Pf. on fr. 197, 49; McLennan, *Zeus*, 51 f.

100-102. Flight of Achaia. — A tiny episode, loaded with proper names; 101 and 102 are properly speaking both four-word lines (see above, 50 n.).

100. ἀλλ' ὅτ': with elision only in *Od.* 12, 240* and Hes. *Op.* 132*; ἀλλ'

ὅτε (δή) is far more common. With an aorist indicative it is found in *Il.* 11, 714, *Od.* 2, 107, etc.

Ἀχαιιάδες: in the nominative, Homer has Ἀχαιίδες (*Il.* 2, 235; 7, 96, etc.), in the genitive Ἀχαιιάδων, always after the feminine caesura, except in *Od.* 3, 261*; cf. Schmitt, *Nom.* 48. As appears from the city-names in the following lines, the name here refers to the coastal region of the Northern Peloponnese.

ἀπηρνήσαντο: perhaps another Callimachean blend, since elsewhere ἀρνέομαι only has a middle aorist (*Il.* 14, 191, 212, etc.), but the compound only a passive one (Trag., Att.), exceptions being dubious or late (see *LSJ*). The construction with a personal accusative ('reject, refuse admittance to someone') is also highly unusual; yet Valkenaer's ἀπηνήναντο (in this form *hapax* in *Il.* 7, 185*) seems not necessary.

πολῆες: *Il.* 4, 51*, *Od.* 19, 174*, cf. Chantr. I, 218.

101. ἐρχομένην: *Od.* 11, 581; 15, 428; cf. 8, 290* and 10, 392* ἐρχομένη.

Ἑλίκη: *Il.* 8, 203* Ἑλίκην τε, Hes. *Sc.* 381* Ἑλίκη (but there a city in Thessaly). In Antiquity, the celebrated epithet Ἑλικώνιος (*Il.* 20, 404) was by some derived from the name of this town, which is mentioned in Homer (*l.c.*) as a centre of worship of Poseidon. Call. is following this tradition here, and not that of *h.Hom.* 22, 3 (cf. Suid. *in Hom.*, 121 O.C.T.), where Poseidon is connected with the Helicon, a view shared later also by Aristarchus. See Nilsson, *GF*, 74.

The mentioning of Bura and Helice may be connected with the idea put forward by Mc Kay (*Erys.*, 150f.; *Antichthon* 3, 1969, 27) that cities that rejected Leto were punished for that later (see above, 70ff. n., 76 n.). In winter 373-2 B.C., Bura was destroyed by an earthquake, while Helice sank into the sea in consequence of the resultant tidal wave; cf. Strabo 8, 384, Paus. 7, 24, 8, and see S. Marinatos, *Archeology* 13 (1960), 186ff. Both cities were mentioned frequently afterwards because of the event, as e.g. in Ov. *Met.* 15, 293f. *Si quaeras Helicen et Burin, Achaidas urbes, / invenies sub aquis* (see further Gow-Page, *The Garland of Philip* II, Cambridge 1968, 206, on *A.P.* 9, 423; *Suppl. Hell.* fr. 1134A, p. 863). However Bura and Helice had already been linked together in previous literature, cf. Hdt. 1, 145, A. fr. 745a Mette.

Ποσειδάωνος ἑταίρη: for Ποσειδάωνος cf. *Il.* 13, 19*; 20, 67*, etc.; for ἑταίρη *Il.* 9, 2*. — The expression does probably not refer to the fact that Helice was a submerged city in Callimachus' time, as *LSJ* put it (cf. Mc Kay, *art. cit.*, *l.c.*), since the poet is describing Leto's journey in the mythical era (cf. the characterization in the next line of Bura as 'Dexamenus' ox-stall'). The reference then must be to some unknown love-affair of Poseidon with Helice, an aetiological tale explaining the special link of the god with this city.

For the use of ἑταῖρος / ἑταίρη of lovers (rare) see *LSJ*.

102. Βοῦρα: on the topography see J. K. Anderson, *BSA* 49 (1954), 74; Meyer, *RE* Suppl. IX, col. 18 f.

Δεξαμενοῖο ... Οἰκιάδαο: Dexamenus, son of Oeceus, is here apparently the king of Olenus mentioned in D.S. 4, 33, 1 and Apld. 2, 5, 5; Cahen (*Comm.*, 174 f.) worries unnecessarily about the fact that this city lay some thirty miles from Bura. In other versions of the story, in which Dexamenus played a part alongside his daughter Mnesimache, Heracles, and a centaur called Eurytion or Eurytus (see Jebb on Bacchyl. fr. 48), Dexamenus was localized in Elis, which does not fit Callimachus' evocation of Achaea here. For the version of the Scholiast, who makes Dexamenus the Centaur, see P. Friedländer, *Herakles*, Philol. Unters. 19 (Berlin 1907), 67 f.; for a representation of him see Beazley, *ARV*² 1108, 16.

For Οἰκιάδης cf. Simon. fr. 566 Page; but the name there is most likely corrupt. See K. Latte, *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, II (Copenhagen 1966), 822.

βοόστασις: first in A. *Pr.* 653 (βού-), cf. Schmitt, *Nom.* 72 n. 4. Kuiper not improbably suggests that the unusual word (instead of epic σταθμός) would have been chosen for the etymological word-play with Βοῦρα.

103-152. Flight of all Thessaly except Peneius, who, relenting, offers his stream to Leto in face of Ares' threats.

103. ἄψ δ' ἐπί: *Il.* 17, 543*, cf. 16, 395* ἄψ ἐπί, 1, 220 ἄψ δ' ἐς, *Od.* 4, 581 ἄψ δ' εἰς, etc. — For apodotic δέ, most common in Homer after a temporal protasis, see Denn.², 179.

Θεσσαλίην: hereafter specified by two of its rivers, the main city and a mountain; cf. the description of Arcady and Boeotia in 70 ff.

ποδὰς ἔτρεπεν: the combination is Tragic, cf. E. *Su.* 718 ἔτρεψαν ἐς φυγὴν πόδα, fr. 495, 4 πάλιν ὑποστρέψας πόδα, S. *Tr.* 549 ὑπεκτρέπει πόδα. Comparable circumscriptions with πόδα(ς), such as π. τιθέναι / βαίνειν / μεθιστάναι are specifically Tragic as well; Homer only has πόδας νωμᾶν in *Il.* 15, 269.

φεῦγε δ' ... φεῦγε δὲ καί (105): an echo of the extensive anaphora of 70 ff.

Ἄναυρος: small river in Magnesia, mentioned first in Hes. *Sc.* 477* in the story of Apollo and Kyknos (cf. E. *HF* 390); for further occurrences in early epic cf. Sim. fr. 564, and see Bowra, *GLP* 101. The more important rivers of Thessaly (cf. the list in Hdt. 7, 129) are perhaps omitted to make Peneius stand out more clearly.

104. μεγάλη Λάρισα: the epithet, rather insignificant in itself, here possibly serves as contrast to the small Anaurus: 'great and small fled, all without exception.' — As a nymph, Larisa was said to be the daughter of Pelasgus (Hellan. 4 F 91) or his mother by Poseidon (D.H. *Ant.* 1, 17, 3), cf. Stählin,

RE XII, 845ff. For representations of her on coins etc. see Hamdorf, *Kultpersonif.* 91, *Test.* 222.

αἱ Χειρωνίδες ἄκραι: the Pelion, where Cheiron was born out of the illicit wedlock of Cronus and Philyra, cf. *Titanom.* fr. 8, p. 111 O.C.T.; F. Vian, *Apollonios de Rhodes, Argonautiques*, I (Paris 1976), 284. The circumscription here is not a mere learned variation of *h.Ap.* 33 Πηλίου ἄκρα κάρηνα, but the name of Cheiron should remind the reader of the precedent of another illegitimate divine child's birth on that mountain. Hence Leto's urgent appeal in 118 Πήλιον ὦ Φιλύρης νυμφήιον.

For the article accompanying only the last of a series of names cf. *Il.* 10, 363 Τυδεΐδης ἠδ' ὁ πτολίπορθος 'Οδυσσεύς, 15, 36f. Γαῖα καὶ Οὐρανὸς ... / καὶ τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, etc. See Chantr. II, 161; Gow on Theoc. 22, 34; Svensson, *o.c.* (7 n.), 58; and below, 137ff.

Apart from *A.P.* 7, 158, Χειρωνίδες is not found elsewhere. For Callimachus' apparent fondness for words with the -ιδ-suffix see the list in Schmitt, *Nom.* 23, cf. 48.

῎Ακραι is always found in this *sedes* in early epic, see *LfgrE s.v.*; as a substantive, however, only in *Il.* 14, 36*.

105-152. Peneius-episode. When Peneius flees, Leto beseeches his daughters to cause their father to stay (109-111), and also pleads—temporarily without result—with the old man himself (112-116). In despair, she turns back to Pelion (117-120), but then Peneius suddenly offers himself to Leto, disregarding the menace of Hera and Ares (121-133). Ares threatens to smash him up with Mt. Pangaeum (133-135), making a terrible noise, which is compared to the one heard sometimes from Etna (141-147). Peneius nevertheless does not shrink back; but Leto eventually declines his offer (148-152).

As was said above (p. 106), this episode forms a counterpart to the Thebe-scene (87-99): for while Thebe is cursed, Call. here 'saves face' for Peneius, as he probably did for Melia (79ff.), and will do later for Cos (160ff.). One can think of several reasons for the exceptional position of Peneius: (i) The Peneius-region is the scene of some of Apollo's future love-affairs, as with Daphne (cf. Ov. *Met.* 1, 452ff.) and Cyrene (Hes. fr. 215, Pi. *P.* 9, 4ff.). See Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 153f. (ii) Apollo purified himself in Peneius' stream after the slaying of the Python, cf. Theopomp. 115 FGH 80 (quoted by Pf., *Call.* I, 95, with note), and possibly *h.Hom.* 21, 1 ff. (iii) Peneius is grandfather of Cyrene, eponymous nymph of Callimachus' native city, cf. Pind. *l.c.*; for the role of Cyrene in Callimachus' works see *H.* 2, 73ff. and fr. 602, with the notes of Williams (also on p. 77) and Pfeiffer; C. Meillier, *Callimaque et son temps*, Thèse Paris 1975 (Lille 1979), 176ff.

The episode is important from a dramatic point of view, too. As a consequence of the description of watching Ares and Iris in 61 ff., the reader

expects a conflict of some kind. By Peneius' resistance, Ares is now able to take action, and this again prepares for the action of Iris, when she finds Asteria disobeying her orders.

105. ἑλισσόμενος διὰ Τεμπέων: *Il.* 21, 11* ἑλισσόμενοι περὶ δίνας (cf. 1, 317; 18, 372; 22, 95), 23, 846 ἑλισσομένη πέτεται διὰ βοῦς ἀγελαίας, 17, 283* ἑλιξάμενος διὰ βήσσας.

Cahen and Howald-Staiger apparently think of ἑλισσόμενος as a geographical qualification of the river; but it is more attractive to think of it as a description of Peneius' actual flight along the winding river-bed: "Fled, too, Peneius, coiling through Tempe" (Mair). See also Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 178. That Peneius' motion invites comparison to a snake, as Mc Kay puts it, is at most suggested by *Il.* 22, 95 and Hes. fr. 70, 23 (cf. S. *Trach.* 11 f.), but not by the context of *Delos.*

Τεμπέων: not found in early epic, but treated in epic style, with the statutory synizesis of plural genitives on -έων. See Chantr. I, 63; West, *Theog.*, 100.

106. Ἥρη, σοὶ δ': cf. *Il.* 2, 802* Ἕκτορ, σοὶ δέ, 24, 742* Ἕκτορ, ἐμοὶ δέ. For δέ postponed when the sentence starts with a vocative see Denn.[2], 189. — The apostrophe (above, 27 n.) is somewhat surprising here, since the device generally suggests a certain sympathy of the poet and his audience towards the subject addressed, as e.g. towards Delos in 27; see Fordyce on Verg. *Aen.* 7, 49. The reader's sympathy, however, goes in fact to Leto, not to Hera. On the other hand, the non-ὦ vocative is formal and distant: see above, 1 n.

ἔτι τῆμος: properly speaking these words prepare for the 'happy end' in 1. 259. The forward reference is already a regular phenomenon in early Greek poetry: see B. A. v. Groningen, *La composition littéraire archaïque grecque*, VKNAW 65.2 (Amsterdam 1958), 44 f., 92 f.

τῆμος ... ἡνίκα: an unparallelled combination, instead of τῆμος ... ἦμος / εὖτε. Hdt. 4, 28 already has the reversed variation ἦμος ... τηνικαῦτα. In early epic and Theognis, τῆμος is always found at the beginning of the line.

ἀνηλεὲς ἦτορ ἔκειτο: a—possibly Callimachean—fusion of various epic expressions, as νηλεὲς ἦτορ (*Il.* 9, 497, cf. Hes. *Th.* 456, 764 f.), ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ (*Il.* 9, 568*), ἄλαστον ἐνὶ φρεσὶ πένθος ἔκειτο (*Od.* 24, 423) and κεῖται ἐν ἄλγεσι θυμός (*Od.* 21, 88, cf. Sol. 4 c, 1, Theogn. 646).

Ἀνηλεής, dubious in Alcm. fr. 102 Page and A. *Pr.* 240, is well attested in Men. *Epitr.* 579 and later poetry, see *LSJ.* For the doublet νηλεής ~ ἀνηλεής cf. (ἀ)νήκουστος, (ἀ)νήνεμος, etc.; see Schwyzer I, 431 with n. 5; Chantr., *Dict. Ét.*, 336A.

For ἔκειτο cf. *Il.* 15, 388*, *Od.* 2, 338*, *h.Merc.* 249*, etc. It is probably a copula here, ἀνηλεές being the predicate; an unhomeric use, comparable to that of τέτυκται / ἐτέτυκτο in *Il.* 5, 78; 16, 662, etc. For κεῖμαι used of

continuing conditions cf. *Od.* 24, 423 quoted above, S. *OT* 491 νεῖκος ἔκειτό τισι, etc.: see *LSJ s.v.* κεῖμαι V.

107. οὐδὲ κατεκλάσθης: cf. *Od.* 4, 481 κατεκλάσθη φίλον ἦτορ (cf. 9, 256; 10, 198), of dejection. For the personal construction here cf. E. *Hipp.* 756 f. (Phaedra) δεινᾶι φρένας Ἀφροδί-/τας νόσωι κατεκλάσθη, Thuc. 3, 67, 2 μὴ παλαιὰς ἀρετὰς ... ἐπικλασθῆτε, etc.; but the absolute use in Call. is remarkable. Its meaning is made clear by ᾤκτισας: in contrast to ἔκειτο, which pictures Hera's state of mind, the subsequent aorists refer to her reaction (or the absence of any reaction) to Leto's impassioned appeal to Peneius' daughters: 'Your anger did not break down, and you did not take pity ...'.

ᾤκτισας: οἰκτίζω is used only in Tragedy and Attic prose (this form in S. *Tr.* 897, E. *Hc.* 720), the epic verb being οἰκτείρω.

107 f. πήχεις / ἀμφοτέρους ὀρέγουσα: Homer has only χεῖρας ὀρέγειν (*Il.* 15, 371; 24, 743, etc., cf. S. *OC* 846, Pi. *P.* 4, 240); E. *Md.* 902 has a variation with ὠλένην. Πήχεις ἀμφοτέρους varies Homeric πήχεε (cf. *h.Ap.* 117 ἀμφὶ δὲ φοίνικι βάλε πήχεε, of Leto), no plural form being attested in Epic with the exception of *h.Merc.* 50 (but there said of the horns of the lyre). Dual forms are generally avoided by Call.: see above, 64 n.

For the enjambement cf. *Il.* 21, 115 f. χεῖρε πετάσσας / ἀμφοτέρας, *Od.* 12, 409 f. προτόνους ... / ἀμφοτέρους. See *LfgrE s.v.*; *Introd.*, ch. 3.3.

108. μάτην: first in Alcman 1, 86 and *h.Cer.* 308*; afterwards common in Tragedy.

ἐφθέγξατο: cf. *Il.* 21, 213* ἐκ φθέγξατο, 18, 218 φθέγξατ', Pi. *P.* 8, 56 ἐφθέγξατ'. For the use of φθέγγομαι in speech introductions see *Introd.*, ch. 3.2.1.

Ψ has ἐφθέγξαο, but Leto, not Hera must be the subject. The reverse corruption (-ατο for -αο) does occur too, cf. *H.* 3, 80 and 5, 87 (but not, I think, in l. 326 below).

τοῖα: not found in early epic introductory formulae, and in later poetry hardly ever as such. See *Introd.*, ch. 3.2.1.

109. Νύμφαι Θεσσαλίδες, ποταμοῦ γένος: cf. below, 256* νύμφαι Δηλιάδες, ποταμοῦ γένος, Moero fr. 3, 1* Powell Νύμφαι Ἀνιγριάδες, ποταμοῦ κόραι; for Νύμφαι Θεσσαλίδες only cf. *Il.* 6, 420* Νύμφαι ὀρεστιάδες, *Od.* 13, 356 Νύμφαι νηιάδες, *h.Ap.* 157 κοῦραι Δηλιάδες. Θεσσαλίς is found first in S. *OC* 314.

It should be noted that Leto starts with non-ὦ vocatives (Νύμφαι Θεσσαλίδες, 112 Πηνειὲ Φθιῶτα), but then changes to ὦ πάτερ (113) and Πήλιον ὦ (118): in the course of her emotional speech, she drops formalism, and in her despair changes to a more personal approach. See Giangrande, *CQ* n.s. 18

(1968), 58. — In the Homeric hymns, one will look in vain for speeches like these, which are substantially Tragic in content: see Cahen, *Comm.*, 175; Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 179. Also from an idiomatic point of view the influence of Tragedy is clear in this speech, though definitely non-Tragic words and expressions are found as well: see below, 117 n.

ποταμοῦ γένος: also in *Il.* 21, 186 (but there of a single man), cf. 5, 544 γένος δ' ἦν ἐκ ποταμοῖο. For γένος = 'children' cf. S. *El.* 965, Pi. *P.* 4, 51, 173, etc., and also Ba. 13, 77 ὦ ποταμοῦ θύγατερ. Rivers are commonly represented as having a quiver full of children, cf. A. *Su.* 1028 (ποταμοὶ) πολύτεκνοι. Call. may have known representations of rivers with lots of children over and about them, such as that of the 'Vatican Nile' in the Museo Chiaramonti in Rome, a copy of a Hellenistic original: see M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York 1955), 101.

Mair, in a note on p. 94, lists six daughters of Peneius, to which one could add Stilbe for a seventh: see Roscher III, 1899.

εἴπατε: above, 82 n. For the construction with dative and infinitive, implying command, see *Od.* 3, 427 f. εἴπατε δ' εἴσω / δμῳῇσιν ... δαῖτα πένεσθαι, cf. 22, 367* εἰπὲ δὲ πάτρι (sc. ἴσχεσθαι).

110. κοιμῆσαι μέγα χεῦμα: cf. *Od.* 12, 169 κοίμησε δὲ κύματα δαίμων, A. *Eu.* 832 κοίμα κελαινοῦ κύματος ... μένος. Χεῦμα, a Homeric *unicum* in *Il.* 23, 561 (of a stream of molten tin), is common in Tragedy to denote rivers and the like, cf. A. *Su.* 1020, E. *Pho.* 793, *Hl.* 1304, also Pi. *N.* 9, 39, etc. Μέγα χεῦμα occurs also in *H.* 1, 32*, see McLennan's note. For μέγας with rivers cf. *Il.* 20, 73; 21, 192, etc.; A. *Pe.* 88 has μέγα ῥεῦμα. Note the variations of the phrase in the sequel: ἠρώησε μέγαν ῥόον (133) and θοὰς δ' ἐστήσατο δίνας (149).

110 f. περιπλέξασθε γενείῳ / λισσόμεναι: the touching of the (bearded) chin is a well-known supplication-gesture, cf. *Il.* 8, 371 f. (Thetis) ἔλλαβε χειρὶ γενείου, / λισσομένη, 10, 454 f. ἔμελλε γενείου χειρὶ παχείῃ / ἁψάμενος λίσσεσθαι. But the expression 'to embrace a chin' is a rather surprising one, comparable to E. *IA* 1226 περὶ σὸν ἐξαρτωμένης γένειον. It is possible, however, that with γένειον Peneius' beard is meant, an object more easily embraced than a chin; river-gods are regularly represented with a beard, cf. S. *Tr.* 13, with Jebb's note; Hamdorf, *Kultpersonif.*, 10 ff., cf. 125 n. 69; T. Dohrn, *Antike Flussgötter*, Festschrift Förster (Köln 1960), 69; and above, 92 n.

Of περιπλέκομαι, Homer has only the passive aorist (cf. *Od.* 14, 313; 23, 33), also with the dative; but of πλέκομαι a middle aorist occurs (πλεξάμενος, *Od.* 10, 168).

111. λισσόμεναι: participle and other forms of λίσσεσθαι regularly occur in this *sedes*, cf. *Il.* 1, 502; 8, 371; 9, 497, etc.

τὰ Ζηνὸς ... τέκνα: for the word-order cf. *Od.* 3, 145 τὸν 'Αθηναίης ... χόλον, etc.; see Chantr. II, 165. The hyperbaton may be caused by the wish to make a juxtaposition of τέκνα and τεκέσθαι as in *Od.* 22, 324*, *h.Cer.* 136*, cf. *h.Ven.* 127; see Fehling, *Wiederholungsfig.*, 156ff. Moreover, it involves the juxtaposition of Ζηνός and ἐν ὕδατι, forming a kind of indignant antithesis: 'Children of Zeus, born in the *water*! How disgraceful!'

The plural τέκνα is the only reference in *Delos* to the fact that Artemis is keeping Apollo company in Leto's belly. See Mc Kay, *Erys.* 169, n. 3.

ἐν ὕδατι: cf. *Od.* 9, 392 εἰν ὕδατι. Schneider translates *prope fluvium*, thinking perhaps of *Od.* 5, 466 ἐν ποταμῷ "at, beside the river" (transl. Stanford, wrongly, I think: Greek river-beds are for the greater part dry in summer, and can well be used to camp on). Here we should certainly not rule out the possibility, however, that Leto plans to give birth standing in the very stream, since on land all places appear to be denied to her. — For ῡ̆δατι cf. *Il.* 23, 282, *Od.* 5, 70; 22, 439, 453; 24, 45; never in this *sedes* (elsewhere ῡ̆-).

τεκέσθαι: *sc.* ἐμέ. The omission is far more harsh than in *Il.* 8, 372 λισσομένη (*sc.* Thetis) τιμῆσαι 'Αχιλλῆα πτολίπορθον, since there the subject of τιμῆσαι is also the person beseeched (viz. Zeus). Cf., however, *Od.* 8, 465f. οὕτω νῦν Ζεὺς θείη ... / οἴκαδέ τ' ἐλθέμεναι, *sc.* ἐμέ.

112. Πηνειὲ Φθιῶτα: a very reverential way of addressing, with a non-ὦ vocative, an uncommon epithet, and the sequence of five long syllables.

In older times, Phthia must have been the name for a wider area than the later district of Phthiotis, being probably the name for the whole of Thessaly; cf. Hes. fr. 215 ἤ' οἵη Φθίηι Χαρίτων ἄπο κάλλος ἔχουσα / Πηνειοῦ παρ' ὕδωρ καλὴ ναίσκε Κυρήνη, Strabo 9, 5, 4ff., and see E. Meyer, *KlP* 4, cols. 831f. Anyhow, the Peneius is not 'Phthiotian' in the later sense of the word.

For Φθιῶτα cf. A. fr. 132 Mette Φθιῶτ' 'Αχιλλεῦ, Cines. fr. 775 Page, E. *Tr.* 575, etc. For the addressing of a river cf. *Il.* 23, 144 Σπερχεί', A. fr. 404 Σπερχειὲ ποταμέ.

τί νῦν: 'why *now* (all of a sudden)?', cf. 116 σήμερον ἐξαπίνης. In Homer, τί νυ or even τίη νυν (*Il.* 20, 297) never has this strong force.

ἀνέμοισιν ἐρίζεις: for ἐρίζειν + dative = 'compete with' cf. *Il.* 13, 325 ποσὶ δ' οὔ πως ἔστιν ἐρίζειν (*sc.* 'Αχιλῆι) *Od.* 8, 225 οἵ ῥα καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἐρίζεσκον περὶ τόξων. For the idea cf. Homeric expressions as in *Il.* 10, 437 θείειν δ' ἀνέμοισιν ὁμοῖοι, 24, 342 ἅμα πνοιῇς ἀνέμοιο, and the adjective ποδήνεμος, *Il.* 2, 786.

The Peneius otherwise was a gently flowing river, σχολῇ καὶ πρᾴως προϊὼν (Ael. *VH* 3, 1).

113. ὦ πάτερ: *Il.* 8, 31*, *Od.* 16, 241*, *h.Merc.* 334*, etc.; for ὦ πάτερ, οὐ μὴν cf. *Il.* 17, 415 and *Od.* 11, 344 ὦ φίλοι, οὐ μάν.

οὐ μὴν etc.: 'Surely you did not mount a race-horse.' The tone is one of

indignation and scorn: see Howald, *Kall.*, 74; Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 178f. The offence against Hilberg's Law (word-end after position 4, see above, *Introd.*, ch. 4.2.2) is possibly structural, thus stressing the emphasis of οὐ μήν; cf. S. *Phil.* 593 ἦ μὴν // ἢ λόγῳ etc., offending Porson's Law.

ἵππον ἀέθλιον: also in fr. 58, 1*, cf. Theogn. 257 ἵππος ἀεθλίη. Homer has ἀ(ε)θλοφόρος instead, cf. *Il.* 11, 699; 22, 22, etc.

ἀμφιβέβηκας: *Il.* 1, 37*, 451*, but with a different meaning ('guard, protect'), cf. above, 27 n. For ἀμφιβαίνω = 'bestride' cf. *Od.* 5, 370f. αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεύς / ἀμφ' ἑνὶ δούρατι βαῖνε, κέληθ' ὡς ἵππον ἐλαύνων.

114. ἦ ῥα: interrogative in *Il.* 4, 93*; 7, 48*, *Od.* 8, 336*, etc., see Denn.[2], 284; *LfgrE*, cols. 1126ff. Ἦ ῥά τοι will not be a combination like ἦ μέν τοι (*Od.* 19, 305) or ἦ νύ τοι (*Il.* 22, 11), since τοι no doubt = σοι here. For ἦ ῥα ... ἦ cf. *Il.* 14, 190f., *Od.* 4, 632.

ὧδ' ... ταχινοί: for ὧδε + adjective cf. *Il.* 6, 478; 21, 430, *Od.* 3, 376, etc.; *Il.* 16, 206 has ῥά τοι ὧδε + adj.

ταχινοὶ ... πόδες: cf. *Il.* 5, 805* ταχέες πόδες. For ταχινός see above, 95 n. Some pun may be intended here, since ποῦς can refer to the mouth of a river: see Call. fr. 384, 48, with Pfeiffer's note.

ἐπ' ἐμεῖο: 'in my case, where I am concerned', cf. *Od.* 1, 278 (ἔεδνα ...) ὅσσα ἔοικε φίλης ἔπι παιδὸς ἕπεσθαι. A very uncommon use: see Danielsson, *Eran.* 4 (1900-02), 83 n. 3; Mc Kay, *PaP.* 14, n. 1; Schwyzer II, 470.

115. μοῦνον: the MSS have μοῦνοι here, "*intolerabilis prorsus hypallage ... pro* μούνης *aut* μοῦνον" (Danielsson, *art. cit.*, *l.c.*). Indeed, from a mere rationalistic point of view, μοῦνοι lays the wrong emphasis: 'only your feet', instead of 'only with me'; but such an enallage is also not uncommon in Homeric expressions like λῦσεν δ' ἀγορὴν αἰψηρήν (*Od.* 2, 257), θοὴν ἀλεγύνετε δαῖτα (8, 38), etc.; see Chantr. II, 9, and especially Wilamowitz, *HD* II, 68, n. 4: "Dass die poetische Sprache das prosaische μόνον adjektivisch an das Subjekt anschliesst, muss nachgerade jeder wissen." That in *H.* 6, 112 *P.Oxy.* has μῶνον against μῶνοι in Ψ, as Pfeiffer notes, only proves that corruption of μοῦνος also occurs elsewhere: cf. on the other hand Lys. 8, 19, where Bekker reads μόνοι instead of μόνον of the MSS.

On enallage in Hellenistic poetry, especially Theocritus, see Giangrande, *AC* 46 (1977), 514 with n. 40.

ἐλαφρίζουσι: while ἐλαφρός is Homeric, said of feet in *Il.* 23, 749 and *Od.* 1, 64, ἐλαφρίζω is only found in Archil. fr. 176, 3, and further in Anyte, Euripides, etc. For the (uncommon) intransitive use cf. that of κουφίζω in Hes. *Op.* 463, E. *Hl.* 1555.

πεποίησαι δὲ πέτεσθαι: cf. *Il.* 6, 56* and *Od.* 7, 342* πεποίηται, Anacr. 99 D (= 57 Gentili) οἰνοπότης δὲ πεποίημαι, *A.P.* 12, 121, 4 (Rhian.) πεποίησαι δ' ... χάρις. The question is whether we should take πεποίησαι

transitively, with πόδας understood, as Graevius does ('and have you made them flying all of a sudden?'), the train of thought being undisturbed, or that it should be intransitive, in which case it is possible to choose between a rather flat '*factusque velox es derepente?*' (Ernesti, supported by Kuiper, referring to *Od.* 23, 258), or a more expressive 'and have you changed yourself so as to fly today all of a sudden?' (For ποιεῖν = 'change' cf. *Od.* 10, 432 f., of Circe). In the last case, the πεποίησαι-sentence introduces a new idea: in her scorn, Leto successively compares Peneius to a jockey (113), a runner (114), and some winged being. This is attractive from an interpretative point of view, cf. Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 179: "We end with a feeling of amused uncertainty over whether Peneius is man or fish (*sic*) or fowl." — Anyhow, (i) the Scholiast's explanation that πέτεσθαι here = τὸ ὀξέως τρέχειν is rather pointless; (ii) Madvig's proposal (*Adversaria critica* I, Copenhagen 1871, 291) ἐπτόησαι δὲ πέτεσθαι ('are you scared, so as to fly ...') is ingenious but unnecessary; (iii) Mesk's idea (*PhW* 47, 1927, 414 f.) that lines 113 and 115 together constitute the idea of a horseman, who by the speed of his horse gets wings (an image found in Plato and Xenophon), is quite out of place: for 114-5, unmistakeably referring to Peneius' own feet, would intolerably interrupt this idea of the 'winged rider'.

116. σήμερον: always in this *sedes* in early epic, cf. e.g. *Il.* 7, 30, *Od.* 17, 186*, *h.Merc.* 371*.

ἐξαπίνης: *Il.* 5, 91*, *Od.* 21, 196*, Hes. fr. 343, 10*, etc.; never in Tragedy.

ὁ δ' ἀνήκοος: whether these words are regarded as part of the general narrative, as in the case of Wilamowitz and Mair, or whether, with Schneider, Cahen and Pfeiffer, we regard them as part of Leto's speech, seems mainly a matter of personal taste. Personally I adhere to the latter view, since (i) the interruption of Leto's emotional speech by such a factual remark is harsh, and without parallel: see McLennan, *Zeus*, 148; (ii) the ellipse of the verb fits an emotional speech better than a simple narrative sentence (cf. below, 132 τί περισσά; and 203 ὅ τοι φίλον), and (iii) the connexion with the following seems smoother that way: 'He does not listen! Oh, what am I going to do now?'

'Ανήκοος = 'without hearing' in Aristotle and elsewhere in Hellenistic poetry, 'not hearing' or 'ignorant' in Attic prose, see *LSJ*. Here we should understand 'not willing to hear, not listening', for which there is no parallel. Call. perhaps thought of it as the negation of ἐπ- or ὑπήκοος, a celebrated cult-epithet for various gods, found in inscriptions from the fourth century B.C. onwards: see O. Weinreich, "Θεοὶ ἐπήκοοι", *Ath. Mitt.* 37 (1912), 1 ff.; H. S. Versnel, *Religious Mentality in Ancient Prayer*, in: *Faith, Hope and Worship*, Stud. Gr. Rom. Rel. 2 (Leiden 1981), 34 ff.; and below, 308 n.

116f. ὦ ἐμὸν ἄχθος, ποῖ σε φέρω: such exclamations of despair are characteristic of Tragic style, cf. A. *Su.* 776ff. ἰὼ γᾶ βοῦνι ..., / τί πεισόμεσθα; ποῖ φύγωμεν Ἀπίας / χθονὸς κελαινόν ...; S. *OC* 828 οἴμοι τάλαινα, ποῖ φύγω; E. *Alc.* 862f. ἰώ μοί μοι ... / ποῖ βῶ; ποῖ στῶ; τί λέγω; and also Theoc. 3, 24 ὤ μοι ἐγών, τί πάθω, τί ὁ δύσσοος; οὐχ ὑπακούεις;

For ἄχθος φέρειν cf. *Od.* 9, 233 φέρε δ' ὄβριμον ἄχθος, E. *El.* 108, *Rh.* 379. Ἄχθος seems nowhere else in Greek to have been used with reference to a foetus, but cf. A. *Ch.* 992 τέκνων ... βάρος, and E. *Ion* 15 γαστρὸς ὄγκον.

For ποῖ σε φέρω; cf. *Od.* 13, 203 πῇ δὴ χρήματα πολλὰ φέρω τάδε; *h.Merc.* 307 πῇ με φέρεις ...; and below, 195 τῇ με φέροις. The unhomeric ποῖ is found in Attic literature from Tragedy onwards.

117. μέλεοι: μέλεος is 'idle, useless' in Homer, but 'miserable' in Tragedy, and we shall never know whether Call. wanted his audience to understand the phrase as 'in vain my tendons are outworn' (for μέλεοι instead of μέλεον cf. μοῦνοι for μοῦνον in 115), or 'the hapless sinews of my feet are outworn', as Mair translates, or even wanted to leave the choice to the reader.

For μέλεος said of members of the body cf. S. *OT* 479 (μελέῳ ποδί), E. *Or.* 1467 (κρᾶτα μέλεον).

ἀπειρήκασι: in Homer, only the aorist (ἄπειπον, etc.) is in use, the perfect occurring only in Attic; cf. especially E. *Hipp.* 1353 ἀπειρηκὸς σῶμ', *Or.* 91 ἀπείρηκεν κακοῖς (with μέλεος in the preceding line).

τένοντες: *Il.* 20, 478*. It is possible, but certainly not necessary, to understand only the tendons of Leto's *feet* here. It is generally used so in Tragedy, cf. E. *Ba.* 938, *Md.* 1166, *Pho.* 42 and *Cycl.* 400 (with Ussher's note), but only once in Homer (*Il.* 17, 290), all further Homeric instances referring to other parts of the body (cf. *Il.* 5, 307, *Od.* 3, 449, etc.).

118. Πήλιον ὦ Φιλύρης νυμφήιον: again, Leto turns to Pelion (with an ὦ-vocative this time), explicitly referring to the precedent of Philyra, who out of fear for Rhea fled to this mountain to give birth to Cheiron, her son by Cronus; see above, 104 n.

The expressive alliteration with the p-sound is striking, as is the assonance of Πήλιον and νυμφήιον, binding the various elements closer together: see M. S. Silk, *o.c.* (88 n.), 173ff.

For ὦ in the second place cf. *Il.* 4, 189 φίλος ὦ Μενέλαε, *Od.* 8, 408 πάτερ ὦ ξεῖνε, Hes. *Sc.* 78 ἥρως ὦ Ἰόλαε, Pi. *P.* 8, 1f. Ἡσυχία, Δίκας / ὦ μεγιστόπολι θύγατερ, S. *Ai.* 395 ἔρεβος ὦ φαεννότατον, etc.; see also Pf. on fr. 103.

Νυμφήιον is an epicising form of νυμφεῖον, which is found previously only in Sophocles (*Ant.* 891, 1205, *Trach.* 920). According to Kuiper (138), the meaning here would be 'delivery room' instead of 'bridal-chamber' (as in Sophocles); but Callimachus' use of νυμφήιον instead of λεχώιον (cf. *H.* 1,

14) perhaps serves to demonstrate that Call. follows the tradition that not only the birth of Cheiron, but the preceding love-affair as well took place on Mt. Pelion: cf. Schol. Pi. *P.* 3, 1, Verg. *Ge.* 3, 92, with Richter's note.

Πήλιον ... ἀλλὰ σὺ μεῖνον: cf. *Il.* 17, 645 Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἀλλὰ σὺ ῥῦσαι. For ἀλλὰ σύ + imperative cf. also *Il.* 1, 393; 2, 33; 5, 237, etc. Homer has μεῖνον only in the compound ἐπίμεινον (*Il.* 6, 340; 19, 142, etc.), but of μένω only μεῖναι or μέν' (for ἀλλὰ μέν' see *Il.* 6, 258; 8, 96, etc.). For μεῖνον cf. E. *IA* 831 (≅ *Hl.* 548, *Pho.* 897) μεῖνον· τί φεύγεις;

118f. μεῖνον, / μεῖνον: cf. below, 150f. σῴζεο ..., / σῴζεο, 204 πέρα, πέρα, 214 γείνεο, γείνεο. The anadiplosis of the imperative is characteristic for Tragic, especially Euripidean, style, cf. A. *Eu.* 140 with Groeneboom's note, E. *Ba.* 107 with the notes of Dodds and Roux, and *Md.* 711; see further W. Breitenbach, *Untersuchungen zur Sprache der Euripideischen Lyrik* (Stuttgart 1934), 214ff. For non-Tragic instances also Fehling, *Wiederholungsfig.*, 169ff.; Latin instances in R. Helm, *Festschrift Vahlen* (Berlin 1900), 359ff.; F. Bömer *ad* Ov. *Met.* 3, 501.

119. μεῖνον, ἐπεί: cf. *Il.* 15, 165* μεῖναι, ἐπεί.

καί: 'also', apart from Philyra. In her despair, Leto declares that she is willing to accept even the wilderness of a mountain as a place of delivery. Rhea, too, bore Zeus in such a desolate place, cf. Call. *H.* 1, 10f. ἧχι μάλιστα / ἔσκεν ὄρος θάμνοισιν ἐπισκεπές, and see below, 240ff., where Hera scornfully refers to the barren rocks and other obscure places, where mistresses of Zeus must give birth to their children.

θῆρες: at the end of the next line specified by λέαιναι. The extensive hyperbaton suggests an effect of surprise intended, but it is hard to see its meaning here: see below.

For θήρ denoting a lion cf. *Il.* 3, 449; 10, 184, etc.; for the combination cf. E. *HF* 465f. θηρὸς ... λέοντος, *A.P.* 14, 63, 4 (Mesom.) λέαινα θήρ, comparable to the epic expressions γυνὴ ταμίη, ἰητρὸς ἀνήρ, etc. See Chantr. II, 13.

119f. θῆρες ἐν οὔρεσι ... / ὠμοτόκους: cf. *Il.* 11, 479 ὠμοφάγοι ... θῶες ἐν οὔρεσι, *h.Ven.* 18 οὔρεσι θῆρας. For ἐν οὔρεσι cf. also *Il.* 4, 455*; 24, 614*, *h.Ven.* 160*, 266*, Pi. *P.* 6, 21 (on Cheiron), and see McLennan, *Zeus*, 33.

σεῖο: *Il.* 3, 137*, *Od.* 4, 191*, *h.Ap.* 329*, etc. It is never possessive in Homer, with the sole exception of *Od.* 16, 241 ὦ πάτερ, ἦ τοι σεῖο μέγα κλέος αἰὲν ἄκουον, an instance overlooked by Lorentz (*o.c.* (97 n.), 8, 10) and McLennan (*Zeus*, 37), but see Chantr. II, 155. For the separation of the possessive genitive from its noun, rare in Homer when the noun precedes, see W. Havers, "Zur 'Spaltung' des Genitivs im Griechischen", *IF* 31 (1912/13), 236.

120. Leto ends her speech with an impressive four-word line (above, 50 n.), hard to understand because of the ambiguous ὠμοτόκους, the highly unusual expression ὠδῖνας ἀπερείδεσθαι and the somewhat surprising specification of θῆρες by λέαιναι.

ὠμοτόκους ὠδῖνας: according to the interpretation of ὠμός, the epithet can be explained in various ways. (i) 'Delivering prematurely', ὠμοτοκία being the medical term for 'premature childbirth', cf. Sor. 2, 47, etc. Neither for lionesses nor for Leto, however, does this make any sense here. (ii) 'Having a rough bearing'. Commentators preferring this explanation (Wilamowitz, Spanheim) refer to the tale in Hdt. 3, 108 (cf. Arist. *gen. an.* 4, 6) that the lion cub destroys the uterus, as he scrabbles his way out of his mother at birth. In Callimachus' Collection of Marvels a tale like this would probably be welcome, but it is hard to see what purpose it could serve in this context: should we suppose that Leto is worrying about some damage Apollo might do to her at his birth? For a goddess this seems utterly unlikely. (iii) 'Having shapeless children'. *LSJ*, following Meineke and Schneider, here add: 'referring to the shapelessness of the lion cub at birth', a phenomenon described by Aristotle (*l.c.*, cf. *HA* 6, 27). Apart from the fact that it is dubious whether ὠμός could really refer to shapelessness, the explanation again does not make sense in Leto's mouth here: she is characterized as a woman outworn by her long search, not reacting as a learned Alexandrian.

In my opinion, the element ὠμό- would have been directly associated by the audience with the primitive circumstances in which wild animals litter, since that was the predominant idea of the foregoing lines. If ὠδῖνας was meant literally by the poet as 'birth-pangs', the element -τόκος is pleonastic, as in the Euripidean combinations εὔπαις γόνος (*IT* 1234), κακοτυχεῖς πότμοι (*Hipp.* 669) and εὔδειπνοι δαῖτες (*Md.* 200); see Breitenbach, *o.c.* (118 f. note), 188 f. If ὠδῖνας was intended to function as an equivalent of τέκνα (see the instances in *LSJ*), which is likely in combination with ἀπηρείσαντο, then -τοκος has full force too: 'young, born in the wilderness.' See also below, 242 (δυστοκέες).

ἀπηρείσαντο: while Homer has the aorist ἐρείσατο etc. (*Il.* 5, 309; 11, 355), the compound occurs only in Attic prose. There seems to be no instance of ἐρείδω or its compounds referring to a birth-situation. Polybius has two places, where ἀπερείδομαι can be rendered by 'lay down, deposit' (3, 66, 9; 92, 9), and that is satisfactory here too.

λέαιναι: a somewhat surprising specification of θῆρες in the foregoing line. F. Studniczka, *H.* 28 (1893), 3, suggests that there would be a reference here to the lion-slaying of the nymph Cyrene, which according to Hesiod and Pindar took place in Thessaly, whereas in Call. *H.* 2, 91 ff. the affair was localized in Lybia: see Williams' note. The connexion with lionesses giving birth, however, is hard to see. Since λέαινα may serve in Greek to denote a

fierce woman, it seems possible that Call. here wished to refer to some woman or women in mythology or history who bore children in that region: cf. Peneius' remark in 123f. that 'he knew of other women, who washed away their soilure of birth in his stream.' There, however, it is not known either to whom the reference might possibly be.

Λέαινα is not Homeric, but found in Tragedy, Herodotus and afterwards. Note, however, θέαιναι in the same *sedes* in *Il.* 8, 5*, 20*; 19, 101*, *Od.* 8, 341* and *h.Ap.* 311*.

121. τὴν δ' ἄρα καὶ Πηνειὸς ἀμείβετο δάκρυα λείβων: cf. *Od.* 24, 280 τὸν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα πατὴρ κατὰ δάκρυον εἴβων, *Il.* 1, 292 τὸν δ' ἄρ' ... ἠμείβετο, 15, 419* *al.* τὴν δ' ἄρα; for δάκρυα λείβων *Il.* 13, 658*; 18, 32*, *Od.* 5, 84*, 158*, etc. In the fullness of epic formulae Call. always manages to create a fresh combination. See above, *Introd.*, ch. 3.2.1.

Leto's elaborate appeal to Peneius and his daughters has suggested to the reader that in their case something special would happen, that could not be settled with a simple ὁ δ' ἀνήκοος. Indeed, Leto's appeal to Pelion now appears to have hurt the river's 'amour-propre' (Cahen, *Comm.*, 178, cf. Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 179f.), which forces him to give up his unwillingness: 'Then Peneius *did* answer her, with tears in his eyes ...'. For this use of καί see Denn. [2], 322f.

ἄρα: the only instance of unelided ἄρα in Call., see Pfeiffer, *Index Voc.*, 148b.

ἀμείβετο: 19 times in this *sedes* in early epic (see *LfgrE*), but never followed by δάκρυα λείβων.

122. Λητοῖ: *Il.* 21, 498*, *h.Ap.* 62*. As in Homer, gods address each other generally with a non-ὦ vocative in Call. See Giangrande, *art. cit.* (1 n.), *l.c.*

Ἀναγκαίη μεγάλη θεός: cf. Hes. *Sc.* 259 Ἄτροπος ... μεγάλη θεός (μ.θ. in the same *sedes*), Theogn. 1137* Πίστις, μεγάλη θεός, Antim. fr. 53, 1* Νέμεσις μεγάλη θεός. See also above, 30 n. on μέγας θεός.

Ἀναγκαίη is the epic form (*Il.* 6, 85, *Od.* 19, 73, etc.); elsewhere we find Ἀνάγκη. For the personification cf. *Il.* 20, 143, A. *Pr.* 515f., S. *Thyest.* fr. 234b, E. *Alc.* 965, Pl. *Leg.* 818e, Philet. fr. 8, 1 Pow., etc. See Hamdorf, *Kultpersonif.*, 33, 95, 129; Nilsson, *GGR* I, 361f.; II, 427, 506. — By its exaggeration, Peneius' excuse presents a fine human touch: for his flight he blames no less a person than Universal World-fate, though it is only the threatening of Ares that made him run away.

οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε: *Il.* 4, 374*; 17, 502*; 23, 469*; *Od.* 4, 193*; 7, 208. There is a conspicuous sequence of enjambed lines, each with a stop at the bucolic caesura, up to l. 127 inclusive, which can be taken as an illustration of Peneius' disturbance, coming to an end in 128, when his decision is taken. See above, *Introd.*, ch. 3.3.7.

123. πότνια: *h.Cer.* 54*, *h.* 30, 6*. In Homer, it is found generally in connexion with μήτηρ or Ἥρη, at the end of the line; Leto is called πότνια in *h.Ap.* 12 and 49.

ὠδῖνας: 120 n. It seems that Peneius deliberately takes over the technical terminology used by Leto there; from a stylistical point of view, a variation would rather have been expected. The word can not mean merely 'child' here, but rather 'accouchement', since that aspect is at stake in the γάρ- sentence: 'for I know of other women who used my water after their delivery.'

For rivers being useful at childbirth see above, 66 n.

ἀναίνομαι: *Il.* 9, 116*, *Od.* 8, 212*; see further 46 n.

οἶδα καὶ ἄλλας: for οἶδα with participle in Homer (rare) cf. *Il.* 17, 402 ᾔδεε Πάτροκλον τεθνηότα.

Who are these 'other young mothers'? In mythology the Naiad Creusa could be meant, who for Peneius himself became mother of Hypseus and Stilbe Πίνδου κλεενναῖς ἐν πτυχαῖς (Pi. *P.* 9, 15); and there were no doubt more. But one can expect remarks like these also to refer to historical or contemporaneous events: should we think of the Macedonian court, where Thessalian ladies sometimes played a prominent part in political affairs? See G. H. Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens* (Baltimore 1932), 26.

124. ἀπ' ἐμεῖο: *Il.* 5, 214* = *Od.* 16, 102*. For λούεσθαι ἀπό cf. Hdt. 3, 23 κρήνην, ἀπ' ἧς λουόμενοι, *h.* 32, 7 ἀπ' Ὠκεανοῖο λοεσσαμένη χρόα, while Homer has ἐν + dative or a single genitive (cf. *Il.* 5, 6; 6, 508).

λεχωίδας: 56 n.

ἀλλά μοι Ἥρη: cf. *Od.* 16, 194*, 18, 146*, 24, 306* ἀλλά με (σε) δαίμων, etc.; for ἀλλά μοι cf. *Il.* 2, 375*; 4, 169*; 9, 646*, etc. See further McLennan, *Zeus*, 42 (l. 13* ἀλλά ἑ Ῥείης).

It is not quite clear whether Hera, keeping watch αἰθέρος εἴσω (59), is supposed to be visible from the earth, or that Peneius only too well realizes that Hera must be the driving-force behind Ares' action. Also in 1.203, Asteria immediately addresses Hera over the head of Iris; in 215ff., however, Hera appears to be seated on her throne on Olympus, being unaware of Asteria's deed (ἄπυστος).

125. δαψιλές: 'copiously, abundantly'. Again (cf. 122 n.), Peneius' fear leads him to use stronger language than the flat μάλα or πολλά that usually goes with ἀπειλέω, cf. *Od.* 20, 272 and *h.Merc.* 374. The word is unepic, generally found in prose from Hdt. 2, 121 onward, introduced in poetry by the Alexandrians according to Gow on Theoc. 7, 145; but cf. Antiphanes fr. 286 δεῖ γάρ φάγοντας δαψιλῶς βρέχειν.

ἠπείλησεν: *Il.* 8, 415*; 9, 692*; 21, 453*, *h.Merc.* 374*, etc., see *LfgrE s.v.*

ἀπαύγασαι: αὐγάζω/-ομαι is found from *Il.* 23, 458 onwards, the compound only in later Greek, nowhere else in the middle voice. M. T. Smiley, *Ha* 40

(1914), 66 suggests influence of Pi. *N.* 10, 61 πεδαυγάζων, which is hard to see; for the compound, the influence of ἀποβλέπω 'look attentively / with concentration' is the more likely. The somewhat extravagant word is fitting in an apology. See also below, 181 n.

οἷος: after a verb of seeing in *Il.* 21, 108 (οὐχ ὁράᾳς, οἷος καὶ ἐγὼ καλός), S. *Tr.* 897 ἔλευσσες οἷ' ἔδρασε, etc.

ἔφεδρος: unepic, common in Tragedy and Attic prose, said of someone who sits by, waiting for a good occasion or for his turn to enter the arena. It varies φροῦρος (61) and σκοπός (66).

126. οὔρεος ἐξ ὑπάτου: for the word-order cf. *Il.* 16, 365 αἰθέρος ἐκ δίης, *Od.* 3, 135 μήνιος ἐξ ὀλοῆς, etc. Callimachus' fondness for such expressions can be gauged from the list in McLennan, *Zeus*, 80. Cf. also below, l. 210 (double occurrence).

For ὕπατος in a local sense cf. *Il.* 23, 165; 24, 787, *h.* 1, 8 (ὕπατον ὄρος), A. *Ag.* 50, etc.

σκοπιὴν ἔχει: 59 n.

126f. ὅς κέ με ῥεῖα / ... ἐξερύσειε: for κε with optative in a relative clause cf. *Il.* 7, 341 f., *Od.* 5, 166, etc., see Chantr. II, 249. The only further instance of κε in *Delos* is in l. 25, see above.

For ῥεῖα with κε + optative cf. *Il.* 17, 70 ἔνθα κε ῥεῖα φέροι, 24, 566f. οὐδέ κ' ὀχῆα / ῥεῖα μετοχλίσσειε, etc.

For ῥεῖα characterizing divine action cf. *Il.* 3, 381 ῥεῖα μάλ' ὥς τε θεός, 10, 556, *Od.* 3, 231, *h.Merc.* 351, etc.; see also West on Hes. *Th.* 90 and *Op.* 5 ff.

127. βυσσόθεν: Homer has βυσσός (*Il.* 24, 80, cf. above, 34 n.) and βυσσοδομεύω (*Od.* 9, 316), but βυσσόθεν is found first in S. *Ant.* 590. See Schmitt, *Nom.* 47, n. 14; A. Giannini, *Dioniso* 37 (1963), 54 n. 25. 'From the bottom' here may stand for 'from the river-bed', but Wilamowitz (*HD* II, 68) takes it to refer to the river's source, which is consonant with the description of 129 f., where Peneius predicts the complete drying up of his river in case he does not obey Hera.

τί μήσομαι: 'What device can I think of now?' cf. *Od.* 11, 474 τίπτ' ... μήσεαι, *h.Ap.* 322 τί νῦν μητίσεαι ἄλλο; But the parallels from Tragedy are even closer: A. *Se.* 1057 τί δὲ μήσωμαι; S. *Tr.* 973 τί δὲ μήσομαι; E. *Hipp.* 592 τί σοι μήσομαι; See Giannini, *art. cit.*, 52 n. 18.

ἢ ἀπολέσθαι: cf. *Il.* 1, 117*; 9, 230*; 15, 502* ἢ ἀπολέσθαι, ἀπολέσθαι occurring nearly always in this *sedes* in early epic, see *LfgrE.*

128. ἡδύ τι: for the construction with the infinitive cf. Hes. fr. 273, 1 ἡδὺ δὲ καὶ τὸ πυθέσθαι, A. *Pr.* 536f. ἡδύ τι θαρσαλέαις / τὸν μακρὸν τείνειν βίον ἐλπίσι, and frequently elsewhere in Tragedy. In Homer, the construction is regular with such neuter adjectives as ἀργαλέον, βέλτερον, ἀγαθόν, κακόν, etc. See Chantr. II, 305.

ἴτω πεπρωμένον ἦμαρ: Meineke and Kuiper preferred to write ἴτω, πεπρωμένον ἦμαρ / τλήσομαι κτλ., since ἰέναι without an adverb (ἄψ, πάλιν, etc.) would not fit epic or Tragic idiom. But a stop after the seventh element is rare, and should be combined with a stop after the third, which is lacking here (see Maas, *GM* 64), and ἰέναι in this context is sound: cf. *Od.* 2, 89 τάχα δ' εἶσι τέταρτον (sc. ἔτος), S. *OT* 1458 ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν ἡμῶν μοῖρ', ὅποιπερ εἶσ', ἴτω, Xen. *Mem.* 2, 1, 33 ὅταν δ' ἔλθῃ τὸ πεπρωμένον τέλος, and below, 171 n.

In Homer, πεπρωμένος, if adjectival, is said of persons (*Il.* 15, 209; 16, 441); in Pindar and Tragedy it is found with μόρος, αἶσα, μόρσιμον, etc., cf. especially E. *Alc.* 147 ἡ πεπρωμένη ἡμέρα. Comparable expressions with ἦμαρ are αἴσιμον ἦμαρ (*Il.* 8, 72), μόρσιμον ἦμαρ (*Od.* 10, 175) and ἀναγκαῖον ἦμαρ (*Il.* 16, 836).

129. τλήσομαι: *Od.* 5, 222*, Thgn. 1343*; for the absolute use cf. *Il.* 1, 586; 11, 317, *Od.* 13, 307, etc.

εἵνεκα σεῖο: in Homer generally at the end of the line (*Il.* 6, 525, *Od.* 6, 156, *h.Ven.* 248), but cf. *Il.* 1, 174* εἵνεκ' ἐμεῖο.

καὶ εἰ μέλλοιμι ... ἔρρειν: cf. E. *Md.* 393 κεἰ μέλλω θανεῖν, Pl. *Ap.* 32a καὶ εἰ μέλλει ... σωθήσεσθαι. Note especially the similarity of the passage with S. *OR* 669 ff. ὁ δ' οὖν ἴτω, κεἰ χρή με παντελῶς θανεῖν / ἢ γῆς ἄτιμον τῆσδ' ἀπωσθῆναι βίᾳ. For καὶ εἰ + optative cf. *Il.* 4, 347 f., *Od.* 13, 292; 22, 13. The use of the optative instead of an indicative (cf. Chantr. II, 277) may suggest that Peneius is hoping to keep out of harm's way.

The optative of μέλλω is rare: *Il.* 12, 323, *Od.* 11, 596.

ῥοάων: *Il.* 3, 5*; 4, 91*, *Od.* 22, 197, etc. The word is always used of rivers in Homer, and only in the plural, ῥόος being used in the singular. See McLennan, *Zeus*, 46.

130. A cluster of unepic words, all ending on the same consonant, and with a predominant o-sound. See Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 180.

διψαλέην: only in Hellenistic poetry (Batrach. 9, A.R. 4, 678, etc.) and later prose: see McLennan, *Zeus*, 58. Kuiper and Cahen interpret the word as 'causing dryness', but since the present participle ἔχων apparently refers to the desolate situation of the river afterwards, 'thirsty' (*i.e.* 'longing for water') is completely satisfying.

ἄμπωτιν: *term. techn.* for 'ebb', generally a prose-word (Hdt. 2, 11, etc.), see Schmitt, *Nom.* 26 n. 53; but Pindar has ἀνάπωτις once (*O.* 9, 52). On the origin of these forms see D. J. Georgacas, *Glotta* 36 (1958), 109 f.

ἔχων: *Il.* 1, 225*; 2, 344*, *Od.* 4, 97*, 650*, etc.

αἰώνιον: again a prose-word, cf. Pl. *Lg.* 904 a, etc. For the adverb cf. δηρόν: the regular αἰωνίως would have been metrically impossible.

ἔρρειν: 'wander', as in *Od.* 4, 367 and A. *Eu.* 884 (ἄτιμος ἔρρειν).

131. μόνος ἐν ποταμοῖσιν ἀτιμότατος: cf. *Il.* 1, 516 ἐγὼ μετὰ πᾶσιν ἀτιμοτάτη θεός εἰμι. For μόνος ἐν + dative cf. *Od.* 22, 13 μοῦνος ἐνὶ πλεόνεσσι; for μόνος with superlative (rare) cf. Lys. 24, 9 σαφέστατα μόνος ἀνθρώπων. See further Thesleff, *Intensif.*, 160f. The epic form is μοῦνος (but cf. *Il.* 11, 470 μονωθείς), μόνος being found from Thgn. 1135 onward.

καλέεσθαι: *Od.* 7, 313*, *h.Ven.* 126*, Hes. *Op.* 715*, fr. 22, 9*; see Bornmann, *Dian.*, 22; McLennan, *Zeus*, 51.

132. ἠνίδ' ἐγώ: for ἠνίδ' cf. Pl. *epigr.* 16, 2 D.-B., Theoc. 1, 149; 2, 38; 3, 10. More common is ἤν or ἤν ἰδού (E. *HF* 867, Ar. *Ran.* 1390, Prat. 708, 14 Page), but never with ἐγώ, for which cf. the expression ἀλλ' ὅδ' ἐγὼ in *Il.* 19, 140 (cf. *Od.* 21, 207; 24, 321, E. *Or.* 380). There is another variant in l. 268 below: αὕτη ἐγὼ τοιήδε.

τί περισσά: 'Why waste more words?' cf. the Scholiast's explanation φθέγγομαι δηλονότι. For the ellipse in this kind of sentence cf. Pl. *Soph.* 266 c τί δὲ τὴν ἡμετέραν τύχην; etc.: see Schwyzer II, 88. A Greek equivalent for '*Quid plura?*', however, seems not to be found elsewhere.

Περισσός is not Homeric, but found in Hesiod (*Th.* 399), Theognis, Lyric poetry, Tragedy and prose: see Schmitt, *Nom.* 47 n. 13.

κάλει μόνον Εἰλήθυιαν: while in the Homeric hymn to Apollo Eileithyia's role is an important one—she has to be lured away by Iris out of her confinement by Hera, so as to make Apollo's birth possible at last—in *Delos* she is almost completely absent. At line 255 we hear that Apollo 'jumped forward' all by himself, and it is only thereafter that the Delian nymphs sing the song of Eileithyia. There was evidently no place for her in our hymn, in which Iris has quite another part to play, and Apollo is characterized as an extremely precocious and independent character.

If I understand Mc Kay (*Erys.*, 168 n. 2) correctly, he would like to translate: 'Only do call Eileithyia, please,' Peneius thus expressing his awkwardness in so feminine a matter as birth. In 123f., however, the river had introduced himself as an expert, having gone through it already so many times. Therefore I understand the remark on the contrary as a rather conceited one: 'Just call Eileithyia.' For such μόνον with imperative see A. *Su.* 1012, S. *OC* 1206, E. *IT* 1075, etc.

It is possible that the phrase should be understood as a *faux pas* of Peneius, since Eileithyia generally passes for Hera's own daughter (cf. *Il.* 11, 270f., and see West, *Theog.*, 412), and as such not quite the person to whom Leto would appeal for help.

The Homeric spelling is Εἰλείθυια, always standing at the end of the line (*Il.* 16, 187*; 19, 103*, cf. 119*; 11, 270*, *Od.* 19, 188*), and found also in Hesiod (*Th.* 922); Εἰλήθυια occurs in *IG* 12 (5) 97, Theoc. 27, 29, *lyr. adesp.* fr. 11, 19 Pow. and *A.P.* 6, 200 (Leon.). In l. 257 below, Call. writes 'Ελείθυια, which is the Pindaric form (*O.* 6, 42, etc.). See Pfeiffer, *Proleg.* LXXXVIII; Gow-Page, *Hellen. Epigr.* II, 179; Schmitt, *Nom.* 28 n. 12.

133. εἶπε, καὶ ἠρώησε μέγαν ῥοόν: cf. *Od.* 5, 451 ὣς φάθ', ὁ δ' αὐτίκα παῦσεν ἑὸν ῥοόν, ἔσχε δὲ κῦμα. Other variations on the theme are in 110 κοιμῆσαι μέγα χεῦμα and 149 θοὰς δ' ἐστήσατο δίνας.

Εἶπε, καί varies the Homeric formula ἦ καί: see *Introd.*, ch. 3.2.1 b. For εἶπε in a concluding speech formula cf. A. *Ag.* 615, S. *Ai.* 780, Pi. *P.* 4, 156, Ba. 3, 48; 17, 47 and 81.

ἠρώησε: 'withheld, checked'. Ἐρωέω is an epic verb (Hom., *h.Cer.*, Tyrt., etc.), used transitively only in *Il.* 13, 57 (cf. Schol. *ad loc.*: ἐρωήσαιτε· ἡσυχάσαι ποιήσαιτε) and possibly 23, 433 (δρόμον being understood). Cf. Gow on Theoc. 22, 174.

μέγαν ῥοόν: cf. *Il.* 21, 369* ἐμὸν ῥοόν, *Od.* 5, 451* ἑὸν ῥοόν, *h.Cer.* 37* and Hes. *Th.* 37* μέγαν νόον, *h.Cer.* 82* μέγαν γόον.

ἀλλά οἱ Ἄρης: cf. *Il.* 16, 331* ἀλλά οἱ αὖθι, *Od.* 4, 667* ἀλλά οἱ αὐτῷ, etc.; see also above, 124 n. Ἄρης is found 19 times in this *sedes* in early epic, see *LfgrE s.v.*

Peneius' opposition has given the watcher of the mainland the opportunity for some sabre-rattling, and the poet dwells extensively on the subject, adding an intricate quasi-epic simile. It is interesting that at the time of composition of *Delos* a real clash of arms was heard in the very region between the Pindus and Mt. Pangaeum, because of the conflict between Pyrrhus and Antigonus Gonatas. See Will I, 190 f.

134. Παγγαίου: mountain in Thrace, north-east of Amphipolis, mentioned in A. fr. 84 Mette and Pi. *P.* 4, 180. That the distance between the Haemus, on which Ares was keeping watch, and Mt. Pangaeum is some 140 miles could not bother our poet, of course.

προθέλυμνα: ancient grammarians explained this word either as 'close-packed, overlapping' or as 'root and branch', the first one applying probably to *Il.* 13, 130 (of shields), the last to 10, 15 (of hair), both being possible in 9, 541* (of trees). The fact that in *Delos* the word should be explained as 'utterly (torn apart)' does not at all imply that Call. thought 'root and branch' the only right interpretation in all Homeric instances, as was often maintained (see F. von Ian, *De Callimacho Homeri interprete*, Argentorati 1893, 30 ff.; Kuiper, 142; Kranz, 79; Schmitt, *Nom.* 105 n. 15). It was more in the poet's manner to interlard his vocabulary with these Homeric peculiarities giving them one meaning in a given context and another elsewhere: cf. the use of the 'debated' οὖλος in *H.* 2, 76 and 4, 302 (see Pf., *Index Vocab. s.v.*). The *Grammatikerkontroversion* on this word seems to have begun only with the interpretation of Aristarchus (προθέλυμνα = ἄλλα ἐπ' ἄλλοις), whose activities on the text of Homer started some 50 years or more after the composition of *Delos*: see Pfeiffer, *HCS*, 210. For modern etymology and interpretations of the word see Chantr., *Dict. Ét.* 427 with lit.

καρήατα: an exceptional plural, found in *Il.* 17, 436*, said of Achilles' horses. Κάρη may denote a mountain-top in early epic, cf. *Il.* 20, 5, Hes. *Th.* 42, 118, etc., but the plural is always κάρηνα in this case (*Il.* 1, 44; 2, 869, *Od.* 6, 123, etc.).

Callimachus' description has not a word in common with that of Homer picturing Polyphemus' demolishing activity in *Od.* 9, 481: ἧκε δ' ἀπορρήξας κορυφὴν ὄρεος μεγάλοιο.

ἀείρας: always in this *sedes* in early epic, see *LfgrE* 165ff. For a context in which the throwing of stones is involved cf. *Il.* 7, 268; 12, 383 (ἔμβαλ' ἀείρας), 453; 14, 411, *Od.* 9, 240, 340, 537.

135. ἐμβαλέειν: *Od.* 9, 489*; 10, 129*; it takes a dative also in *Il.* 14, 258; 15, 598, Pi. *N.* 10, 68, E. *Hl.* 1129, etc. For the 'contaminated' aorist infinitive on -έειν see Schwyzer I, 807.

δίνῃσιν: cf. *Il.* 2, 753 Πηνειῷ ... ἀργυροδίνῃ.

ἀποκρύψαι δὲ ῥέεθρα: cf. *h.Ap.* 383 ἀπέκρυψεν δὲ ῥέεθρα, of Apollo blocking the source of Telphusa. For ἀποκρύψαι cf. *Od.* 17, 286*, for ῥέεθρα also *Il.* 2, 461*, *Od.* 3, 292*, Hes. *Th.* 695*, etc.

136. ὑψόθε: elsewhere always ὑψόθεν, cf. *Il.* 20, 57, *Od.* 2, 147; 17, 210, etc.; but -θε and -θεν are found alternately also in ἄνευθε(ν), ἔνερθε(ν), ὄπιθε(ν), etc.; see Schwyzer I, 627f.

ἐσμαράγησε: cf. Hes. *Th.* 679* γῆ δὲ μέγ' ἐσμαράγησεν. For the construction with a personal subject cf. *Il.* 21, 463 ὅτ' ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν σμαραγήσῃ, where Zeus himself may be the subject. The verb is further used in Homer in *Il.* 2, 210 of the roaring of the sea, and in 2, 364 of the screaming of cranes. According to Kranz (*o.c.*, 79), ἐσμαράγησε here refers to the noise made by the shield, καί being in that case explicative: but that would be extremely harsh, and nothing forbids us to believe that Ares is uttering a cry as well. See Mc Kay, *Erys.* 153: "Raising a thundering battlecry he struck his shield ..." Some of the soldiers with Xenophon used the same device to frighten away their enemies, cf. *An.* 4, 5, 18 (ἀνακραγόντες, ὅσον ἐδύναντο μέγιστον, τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἔκρουσαν).

For Ares' mighty voice cf. *Il.* 5, 859ff. The variation in words denoting sound is noteworthy: 136 ἐσμαράγησε, 137 ἐλέλιξεν, 140 ἔβραμεν, 144 βρέμουσιν, 146 ἰαχεῦσιν, 147 ἔγεντ' ἄραβος. See Capovilla, *SIFC* 42 (1970), 103; Lapp, 116ff.

καὶ ἄσπιδα, etc.: Ares appears to have laid the mountain-top down again, and now proceeds to make a noise with his arms.

ἄσπιδα: *Il.* 3, 347*; 5, 281*, *Od.* 1, 256*, etc., see *LfgrE* 1425ff. In *Il.* 15, 125 and Hes. *Sc.* 334, Ares' shield is called a σάκος, which we find below, l. 147.

According to Reinsch-Werner, *Call. hes.* 177 ff., 239 ff., ἀσπίδα here and ἀσπίδος in l. 140 would refer to the Hesiodean Ἀσπίς, which indeed shows some parallels with the simile here: cf. *Delos* 137 ff. (Thessalian cities resounding to the noise made by Ares) ~ *Sc.* 380 ff. (Thessalian cities resounding to the noise of the battle between Heracles and Cygnus); *Delos* 145 f. δεινὸν ... ἰαχεῦσιν ~ *Sc.* 382 μεγάλ' ἴαχον, *Delos* 146 πίπτοντες ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ~ *Sc.* 375 ἐπ' ἀλλήλαις δὲ πέσωσι, and 379 ὡς οἱ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι πέσον. Reinsch-Werner further points to ἄραβος in *Delos* 147 and *Sc.* 404, which cannot be called a remarkable reminiscence, of course, and to ὑψηλῆς κορυφῆς earlier in *Delos* (l. 63) and in *Sc.* 374, but that combination may have been derived also from *Il.* 16, 297.

τύψεν: *Il.* 19, 125*; 20, 446*. Τύπτω is said of a spear in *Il.* 11, 191; 13, 529, Hes. *Sc.* 362 and Tyrt. fr. 19, 15 West (see Trümpy, *Krieg. Fachausdr.*, 99); the hitting of a shield, however, is generally expressed by νύσσω, cf. *Il.* 7, 260; 11, 565; 16, 704, etc.

136 f. ἀκώκῃ / δούρατος: instead of Homeric δουρὸς ἀκωκῇ, *Il.* 11, 253; 17, 295, etc. Δούρατος is quite exceptional: *Il.* 11, 357, Pi. *P.* 4, 38.

In early epic, Ares' spear is always named ἔγχος, cf. *Il.* 15, 126; 21, 393, Hes. *Sc.* 453, etc. Instead of σάκος and ἔγχος, which chronologically belong together (see Trümpy, *o.c.*, 54), Call. uses the more recent terms ἄσπις and δόρυ.

137. ἡ δ' ἐλέλιξεν ἐνόπλιον: a curious expression: 'and it rang with a warlike noise' (Mair); 'Der sang das Schlachtlied' (Howald-Staiger). When ἐλέλιξεν occurs in Homer, it is always from ἐλελίζω 'turn around', cf. *Il.* 1, 530; 8, 199, etc. (never in this *sedes*); ἐλελίζω 'raise a cry' is Attic (Eur., Ar., Xen.), found in the aorist only in X. *An.* 5, 2, 14 (ἠλέλιξαν).

Ἐνόπλιος = (i) 'armed, in arms', cf. *H.* 3, 241, and (ii) 'martial, warlike' in Pindar, Comedy and Attic prose. Here it can be taken adverbially, as *LSJ* propose, or as an internal accusative: 'and she rang with a warlike sound.' See Chantr. II, 41 f.; Schwyzer II, 76 f. Cf. also Pi. *O.* 13, 86 εὐθὺς ἐνόπλια χαλκωθεὶς ἔπαιζεν ('he played the weapon-play' Gildersleeve; 'he danced the warrior's measure', Farnell). On the war-dance as a genre see C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford ²1961), 4 f., 400 f. (earliest evidence: *Il.* 7, 241).

ἔτρεμε δ' Ὄσσης / οὔρεα: cf. *Il.* 13, 18 τρέμε δ' οὔρεα μακρά. For the whole scene cf. Hes. *Sc.* 380 ff. πᾶσα δὲ Μυρμιδόνων τε πόλις κλειτή τ' Ἰαωλκὸς / Ἄρνη τ' ἠδ' Ἑλίκη Ἄνθειά τε ποιήεσσα / φωνῇ ὕπ' ἀμφοτέρων μεγάλ' ἴαχον.

Ossa, Crannon and Pindus mark precisely the route the sound takes from Mt. Pangaeum, where Ares is supposed to be, to the south-west. The variation in names is noteworthy: in 103 ff., Thessaly was represented by Larisa, Mt. Pelion, the Anaurus and the Peneius.

For Ὄσσης οὔρεα cf. *h.Ap.* 34 Ἴδης ὄρεα, also *Il.* 2, 603 Κυλλήνης ὄρος, *Od.* 19, 431 f. ὄρος ... Παρνησοῦ, etc.

138. πεδίον Κραννώνιον: Theoc. 16, 38*, cf. *Il.* 2, 465 πεδίον Σκαμάνδριον, *Od.* 4, 563 Ἠλύσιον πεδίον, Pi. fr. 107a, 4 Δώτιον πεδίον, etc. Crannon is mentioned in Simon. fr. 510 and 529 Page, Hdt. 6, 127, etc.

αἵ τε: for the article with the last name only of a series see above, 104 n.

δυσαεῖς: in Homer, the epithet is used of winds, cf. *Il.* 5, 865, *Od.* 5, 295* (τε δυσαής), 13, 99, etc.; here it characterizes the region, 'wind-swept', for which we find δυσχείμερος in *Il.* 2, 750 and 16, 234. Poqueville's description of the grim, snow-clad peaks of Pindus, quoted by Cahen (*Comm.*, 180), is picturesque, but hardly relevant. If in l. 26 Στρυμονίου βορέαο contains an allusion to a contemporaneous political situation, then the 'ill wind of the Pindus' perhaps could be a reference to the stormy action of Pyrrhus of Epirus, autumn 275 B.C.: see above, 133 n.

139. ἐσχατιαὶ Πίνδοιο: in Homer, ἐσχατίη is found only in the singular, with a genitive in *Il.* 9, 484 (ἐσχατιὴν Φθίης). *Od.* 5, 238 (νήσου ἐπ' ἐσχατίης), and elsewhere. For the plural cf. S. *Ph.* 144, Pi. *I.* 6, 12, Hdt. 6, 127 (τὰς ἐσχατιὰς τῆς Αἰτωλίδος χώρης): see A. Ronconi, *SIFC* 14 (1937), 178. It seems futile to decide whether the genitive is explicative ('that far-off Pindus-land') or partitive, underlining the enormous reach of the shield's noise, all the way up to 'the outskirts of Mt. Pindus.'

The mountain is mentioned in A. *Su.* 257 and Pi. *P.* 9, 15.

φόβῳ δ' ὠρχήσατο πᾶσα / Θεσσαλίη: cf. A. Ch. 167 ὀρχεῖται δὲ καρδία φόβῳ, 1025 ὑπορχεῖσθαι κότῳ, E. *Erechth.* fr. 65, 48 Austin ὀρχεῖται δὲ π[ό]λεος πέδον σάλωι.

φόβῳ: according to Aristarchus, φόβος in Homer only meant 'flight', not 'fear', cf. Schol. *Il.* 2, 767 with Erbse's note. Here the last meaning seems probable, as also certainly below, l. 217. That does not imply, of course, that Call. is here again taking sides in a grammarian's controversy on the point (see above, 134 n.). Besides, in l. 159 φοβεῖσθαι has the Homeric meaning of φεύγειν.

140. τοῖος γὰρ ... ἔβραμεν ἦχος: 27 n. For τοῖος with a notion of sound cf. S. *Ant.* 124 f. τοῖος ... πάταγος, whereas Homer only has τόσος in this case, cf. *Il.* 12, 338 τόσσος ... κτύπος, *Od.* 21, 49 τόσ' ἔβραχε.

ἀπ' ἀσπίδος: for ἀπό = 'sounding from' cf. *Il.* 8, 170; 16, 635, *Od.* 20, 103; see *LfgrE*, 1064 f. For ἀσπίδος cf. *Il.* 4, 468*; 5, 4*, Hes. *Sc.* 417*, etc.

ἔβραμεν: the MSS of *hyparchetypus* α have ἔβραχεν, which is rather common in Homer, but ἔβραμεν is the *lectio difficilior*, the aorist being found nowhere else: see Kuiper, 143; S. Naber, *Mnem.* 34 (1906), 235. Schneider adds that βραχεῖν is always said of objects making a noise, never of the noise

itself, for which βρέμειν is used (cf. E. *Alcm.* G 2, 33 f., *Hcld.* 832); but Call. generally makes light of such rules.

That Call. with ἔβραμεν ἦχος should play with his own poetry, since the reader has *H.* 3, 245 ἔδραμε δ' ἠχώ in his ears, as Reinsch-Werner, *Call. hes.* 177 n. 3, claims, is unlikely for one thing because *Diana* is probably much later than *Delos*: see Bornmann, *Dian.*, VIII f.

ἦχος: prose-word, instead of epic ἠχή (*Il.* 13, 837, etc.), found in Aristotle, and also elsewhere in Hellenistic poetry.

141 ff. The precise construction of this intricate simile is problematic, and no doubt deliberately so. Schneider takes 141-3 to be the protasis, with a common epic digression in 144-6, l. 147 presenting the apodosis. Objectionable in this theory is, that we would expect the digression to be introduced by δέ, and that the main point of comparison, which is noise and not movement, would appear in the digression only. Howald-Staiger distinguish two different elements in the simile, as appears from their translation: 'Gleich wie wenn im Gebirge ... alle Höhlen erzittern ..., oder wie ... die Essen erdröhnen ...'. It is impossible, however, that τε in l. 144 (followed by θ' in 145) would introduce a new element of comparison. Moreover, what is missing in this conception—as well as in that of Schneider—is an explanation of the falling of the vessels and tripods as described in 145 f.

Pfeiffer here did far better, by putting a comma between ὡς δ' and ὁπότ', which implies a breaking-through of the epic cliché ὡς ὅτε / ὁπότε, not at all surprising with our poet. The sentence then runs as follows: 'And even as, when all internal caves of smoking Etna tremble at the moment that underneath Briareus is shifting to the other shoulder, the furnaces clash under Hephaestus' fire-tongs, and the metal-work too, and the basins and tripods ring terribly, falling one upon another ...'. In this conception, the noise is the predominant idea, as it should be, while the falling of the vessels is explained by the movement of the giant under the mountain. Line 144 must mean, then, that the ἔργα, held by Hephaestus with his fire-tongs, strike the furnace as everything, including the blacksmith himself, is shaking at the earthquake, thus creating a big noise.

Mythological examples occur in Homeric similes too: see E. Fränkel, *Homerische Gleichnisse* (Göttingen 1921), 73.

141. Αἰτναίου ὄρεος: for the adjective cf. A. *Pr.* 365 ῥίζαισιν Αἰτναίαις ὕπο, Pi. *O.* 6, 96, *N.* 1, 6; for ὄρος + adjective cf. *Il.* 8, 170 'Ιδαίων ὀρέων, A. *Su.* 258 ὄρη ... Δωδωνεῖα, Call. *H.* 3, 198 f., fr. 23, 3.

The localization of Hephaestus under Etna instead of on the Liparian islands is characterized by Cahen (*Comm.*, 180) as a 'detail mythologique rare': wrongly, since his forge was located on those islands only by the islanders themselves, according to the report in Thuc. 3, 88, 3 (Νομίζουσι δὲ

οἱ ἐκείνῃ ἄνθρωποι ἐν τῇ Ἱερᾷ ὡς ὁ Ἥφαιστος χαλκεύει ...) and later by Hellenistic poets, whereas the connexion of Hephaestus with Etna is found in A. *Pr.* 365 ff., Pi. *P.* 1, 25 ff., Simon. 552 Page, and E. *Cy.* 599. See Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 115, 11 (strangely omitting the above-cited instances); Bornmann, *Dian.*, 27 f.

For ὄρεος cf. *Od.* 2, 147* and elsewhere: see above, 126 n. (on οὔρεος), and Cahen, *Call.*, 423 f.

τυφομένοιο: unepic verb, found in Tragedy, Comedy and prose. It evokes the name of Typhoeus, who in Aeschylus (*Pr.* 351 ff. and 365, cf. *Se.* 511) and Pindar (*O.* 4, 6, *P.* 1, 17 ff., fr. 92) was placed under Etna. See West, *Theog.*, 381; Fontenrose, *o.c.* (91 n.), 72 f.; J. G. Frazer, *The Fasti of Ovid*, II (London 1929), 213 n. 3. The name of Briareus in the next line thus comes as quite a surprise.

For πυρὶ τυφομένοιο cf. Hes. *Th.* 867* πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο. According to Reinsch-Werner, *Call. hes.*, 182, the fact that this section of *Delos* shows several echoes of Hesiod's *Theogony* strongly suggests that Call. read Αἴτνης in *Th.* 860; but see West *ad loc.* for the non-existence of this reading in Antiquity.

142. σείονται μυχὰ πάντα: in Homer, too, the verb may take the plural when the subject is neuter plural: see Chantr. II, 17.

Μυχά is a quite unique heteroclitic plural of μυχός; other such plural forms in Call. are δίφρα and τράχηλα, on which see McLennan, *Zeus*, 105; Bornmann, *Dian.*, 67; Gow, *Theoc.*, 362; Wackernagel, *KZ* 30 (1890), 297.

For μυχοί said of the realms underneath the earth cf. E. *Su.* 926, *Tro.* 952.

κατουδαίοιο: previously only in *h.Merc.* 112 (of a pit dug in the ground) and Hes. fr. 150, 9 and 18 (of Egyptian people dwelling under the earth).

142 f. γίγαντος / ... Βριαρῆος: in *Il.* 1, 403 f. and Hes. *Th.* 149, Briareus is a Hundred-Hander, whereas later tradition made him a Giant. See Tümpel, *RE* III, 833 f.; Preller-Robert, *GM* I, 623 f.; F. Vian, *La guerre des Géants* (Paris 1952), 173 and n. 9. In placing Briareus under Etna instead of Typhoeus/Typhon, Call. perhaps follows the *Titanomachia*, if Schol. Pi. *N.* 3, 40 indeed refers to that poem: see J. Dörig - O. Gigon, *Der Kampf der Götter und Titanen* (Olten-Lausanne 1961), 10. The fact that in *Il.* 2, 782 f. Typhoeus is said to have his abode εἰν 'Αρίμοις may be involved here. For a third version, in which Enceladus lies buried under Sicily, cf. Call. *Aet.* fr. 1, 36 and Verg. *Aen.* 3, 578 ff. with Williams' note.

Βριαρῆος is an epic genitive of Βριαρεύς; the nominative in Hesiod, however, is Βριάρεως (*Th.* 149, cf. 817 -εων), the genitive Βριάρεω occurring in Ibyc. 299 Page and Euphor. fr. 166 Pow. See Schwyzer I, 477; O. Immisch, *RhM* 48 (1893), 290 ff.·

The double hyperbaton of γίγαντος ... Βριαρῆος ... κινυμένοιο is noteworthy.

143. ἐπωμίδα: in medical literature, this word denotes some part of the shoulder or the collar-bone (see *LSJ*). As a poetic word for 'shoulder' it is found already in Achaeus Trag. fr. 4, 3 Nauck. For Callimachus' apparent interest in medical matters see above, 48 n., and below, 209 n., cf. *Ep.* 43, 1 ff.

κινυμένοιο: *Il.* 14, 173. Κίνυμαι is 'go, move, stir' in Homer, and found later only in Hellenistic poetry. We would rather expect the notion 'turn' here. For the motif of the giant lying under a mountain and causing an earthquake when shifting from one shoulder to another cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3, 581 f. *et fessum quotiens mutet latus, intremere omnem / murmure Trinacriam.* The tale is further told only on Timor and the Tonga-islands, see Mair's note *ad loc.* (p. 96), quoting Frazer, *GB* I, 197. For Giants lying asleep in caverns and caves in Germanic Folk-tales see J. R. Broderius, *The Giant in Germanic Tradition* (Chicago 1930/1933), §§ 11 and 34. For the cognate tale of Brontes turned into a mountain in Call. *H.* 2, 77 see Griffiths, *o.c.* (275 n.), 33 f.

144. θερμάστραι: for the orthography see Pfeiffer *ad loc.* and Chantr., *Dict. Ét.* 431b.

τε: not uncommon in Homer in this *sedes* (cf. *Il.* 1, 466; 2, 429, etc.), but exceptional in Call., since it involves word-end at Meyer's Bridge: see *Introd.*, ch. 4.2.2 (5).

βρέμουσιν: Schneider proposed τρέμουσιν instead, since he did not understand how also the ἔργα held by Hephaestus could produce any noise. They did, of course, because they struck against the furnace as a consequence of the shock. Βρέμουσιν is preferable also since the idea of sound is essential in the simile: see above, 141 ff. note.

ὑφ' ... πυράγρης: for this use of ὑπό + genitive cf. *Il.* 20, 277 λάκε δ' ἀσπὶς ὑπ' αὐτῆς (*sc.* μελίης). Hephaestus handles a πυράγρη also in *Il.* 18, 477*, cf. *Od.* 3, 434*, and it is the god's standard attribute on vase-paintings, reliefs, etc. See F. Brommer, *Hephaistos. Der Schmiedegott in der antiken Kunst* (Mainz a. R. 1978), 154 f.

145. ἔργα: the usual term to denote Hephaestus' products, cf. *Il.* 19, 22, *Od.* 4, 617, Hes. *Sc.* 244, Sol. fr. 13, 49; here referring to works not yet finished.

θ' ὁμοῦ: *Od.* 12, 67*. In Homer, ὁμοῦ is always placed with the first term of the enumeration, cf. *Il.* 1, 61 ὁμοῦ πόλεμός τε ... καὶ λοιμός; in Tragedy and Attic prose it is also found with the second one, cf. A. *Ch.* 502 (θῆλυν ἄρσενος θ' ὁμοῦ γόον), S. *Ai.* 1079, E. *Ba.* 18, Thuc. 7, 30, etc.

δεινὸν δέ: *Il.* 3, 337* (= 11, 42 = 15, 481 = 16, 138 = *Od.* 22, 124). For δεινός with verbs of sound see above, 56 n.

πυρίκμητοί τε: 'wrought at/with fire' (*LSJ*), cf. πολύκμητός τε in *Il.* 6, 48*, 10, 379*, and 11, 133. The compound is a "kallimachische Neuprägung nach Homer. πολύκμητος", as Schmitt (*Nom.*, 61 n. 12) puts it. This is probably right, though from a semantic as well as from a metrical point of view the influence of ἀνδρόκμητος 'man-made' (*Il.* 11, 371*, *hapax*) is not to be ruled out either.

λέβητες: forms of λέβης generally stand in this *sedes*, cf. *Il.* 23, 485, *Od.* 13, 217, *h.Merc.* 61, Hes. fr. 30, 5, etc.; but this plural nominative is never found. Λέβητες and τρίποδες form a stock combination in epic, cf. *Il.* 23, 259, *Od.* 13, 13, 217, *h.Merc.* 179, Hes. fr. 200, 5, etc.

146. πίπτοντες ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις: cf. Hes. *Sc.* 375 ἐπ' ἀλλήλαις δὲ πέσωσι (of pieces of rock), 379 ὡς οἵ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι πέσον (of enemies), A. *Pe.* 506 πῖπτον δ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν (of soldiers of the Persian army going through the ice of the Strymon). For further parallels with the Hesiodean *Scutum* see above, 136 n.

ἰαχεῦσι: ἰαχέω occurs in *h.Cer.* 20, Pindar and Tragedy, generally of persons. The more common epic verb ἰάχω is also said of things; of a shield in Hes. *Sc.* 232. For the contraction cf. *Od.* 3, 322 οἰχνεῦσιν, *Il.* 20, 244 νεικεῦσ', and see Chantr. I, 62.

147. Here again the poet breaks through the traditional simile-pattern by placing τῆμος at the beginning of the line instead of ὡς or the like; τόσος answering ὡς in 141 is unconventional too.

ἔγεντ' ἄραβος ... τόσος: cf. *Il.* 20, 266 τόσσος ἄρα κτύπος ὦρτο, Hes. *Th.* 705 τόσσος δοῦπος ἔγεντο, *Il.* 10, 375 (cf. Hes. *Sc.* 404) ἄραβος ... γίγνετ'. Ἔγεντο is not Homeric, but found in Hesiod (*l.c.*, cf. *Th.* 199 and 283 γέντο), Theogn. 202, 436, 661, and later poetry. See McLennan, *Zeus*, 83; Schwyzer I, 678 f.; West, *Theog.*, 224; Reinsch-Werner, *Call. hes.*, 47 with n. 3.

In early epic, ἄραβος is only used of the chattering of teeth, cf. *Il.* 10, 375, Hes. *Sc.* 404; but ἀραβέω may denote also the rattling of armour, cf. *Il.* 4, 504 = 5, 42. Cf. further the use of καναχή in *Il.* 19, 365 (of teeth) and 16, 105 (of metal objects).

For τόσος answering ὡς (141) the only comparable instance is Hes. *Th.* 702 ff. (partly quoted above), the simile being very short, though, and τόσσος being otiose after the preceding τοῖος. For conclusive τοῖος / τόσος *not* after a simile see above, 27 n.

σάκεος ... εὐκύκλοιο: σάκος here varies ἀσπίς (136, 140). In Homer, too, the same shield is sometimes alternately called ἀσπίς and σάκος, but not within a distance of twenty lines, cf. *Il.* 3, 335/356; 16, 136/704; 18, 458/478, etc. See Trümpy, *Krieg. Fachausdr.*, 31 f. Here, of course, there can be no confusion about whose shield is at stake.

In Homer, εὔκυκλος is found exclusively with ἀσπίς, see Trümpy, *o.c.*, 20 ff.; *LfgrE* 1427 f. It is found already in A. *Se.* 642 with σάκος.

The five times repeated -ος may be regarded as an intentional effect in a line describing sound.

148. αὖτις ἐχάζετο: in Homer, αὖτις is found with νέομαι, βαίνω, χωρέω and the like, but not with χάζομαι, which has ἄψ or ὀπίσσω as a stock adverb, cf. *Il.* 3, 32*; 5, 702. For ἐχάζετο cf. further 11, 585*; 13, 165*, 533*, 566*, etc. For ἐχάζετο + μίμνε cf. *Il.* 15, 727 f. Αἴας δ' οὐκέτ' ἔμιμνε ... / ἀλλ' ἀνεχάζετο τυτθόν.

μίμνε ... καρτερός: μίμνε may either be an independent verb, with καρτερός qualifying its subject ('he stayed, just as resolute as before') or a copula, with καρτερός as a predicate ('he remained just as resolute as before'). For μίμνω + predicate cf. *Od.* 13, 364 ἵνα περ τάδε τοι σόα μίμνῃ.

ὁμοίως: the adverb not in early epic. For the combination with an adjective (rare) cf. Hdt. 1, 32 οὐκ ὁμοίως δυνατὸς ἐκείνῳ. For ὁμοίως ... ὡς cf. Hdt. 1, 55 (ὡς εἰ), E. *HF* 1371, *Tr.* 641 (ὥσπερ).

149. καρτερὸς ὡς τὰ πρῶτα: cf. *Il.* 5, 806 καρτερὸν ὡς τὸ πάρος περ, *Od.* 10, 240 ἔμπεδος ὡς τὸ πάρος περ. For ὡς τὰ πρῶτα see above, 30 n.

θοὰς δ' ἐστήσατο δίνας: for the variation cf. 110 κοιμῆσαι μέγα χεῦμα, 133 ἠρώησε μέγαν ῥόον.

Θοός is a stock epithet of ships in Homer (*Il.* 1, 12*; 2, 8*, etc.). used later of horses (Pi. *P.* 4, 17, Ba. 3, 3), but nowhere else of waves or the like.

To denote the checking of mules or ships, Homer always uses active forms of ἵστημι (*Od.* 3, 182; 7, 4, etc.), the middle being used to denote the placing of vessels or a mast, or the start of a battle. In *Delos* we should realize that god and geographic notion are virtually inseparable, and Peneius in checking the swirls of his stream in fact checks himself. For other instances of middle instead of active forms in Call. see Cahen, *Call.*, 452 f.; Lapp, 133 ff.

150. εἰσόκε: *Il.* 3, 409*; 9, 46*; 14, 6*, *h.Ap.* 501*, etc., always + subjunctive/optative; in later epic also with the indicative. See McLennan, *Zeus*, 130; Pfeiffer, *Proleg.* XC, referring to fr. 24, 4 f.

Κοιηίς: regularly derived from Κοῖος, as Καδμηίς form Κάδμος, χλωρηίς from χλωρός, etc. (see Schwyzer I, 465), and so the best of the MSS readings (see Pfeiffer's *apparatus*). For comparable formations in Call. (e.g. Νηληίς, Ἀρνηίς, Στυμφαιίς) see Schmitt, *Nom.* 22 f.

For Leto as the daughter of Coeus cf. Hes. *Th.* 404 ff., *h.Ap.* 62 θύγατερ μεγάλου Κοίοιο, Alc. T 1, 2 Κόω κ̣[όρα], Pi. fr. 33 d 3 ἁ Κοιογενής (Callimachus' 'source' according to Smiley, *Ha* 40, 1914, 66), *pae.* 7 b 44 and 12, 13 Κοίου θύγατερ. Aristonous fr. 1, 5 Pow. Κοίου ... κόρας, Ov. *Met.* 3, 366 *filia Coei.*

Leto's unselfish reaction is in conformity with her traditional characterization as the 'mild' goddess, cf. Hes. *Th.* 406ff., Pl. *Crat.* 406 a, etc. See Reinsch-Werner, *Call. hes.* 385f., and below, 214 n.

ἐκέκλετο: *Il.* 6, 66*, 110*; 8, 172*, 184*, etc., never followed by direct speech starting half-way through the line, see *Introd.*, ch. 3.2.2. Comparable ἐκέλευσεν introduces direct speech in *Il.* 14, 363.

σῴζεο: cf. E. *IT* 1075 καὶ σῴζου μόνον, *Hyps.* fr. 64 II 66 σῴζου δὲ δὴ σύ. The Homeric imperative is σάω (*Od.* 13, 230; 17, 595), used in Call. *H.* 5, 142; 6, 134, and fr. 112, 8. We should certainly not translate 'farewell' here, as *LSJ* suggest, for that cannot be said bluntly to someone who so kindly has offered himself. Moreover, ἐκέκλετο suggests a command or an exhortation. So only 'save yourself' here applies, as in the Euripidean instances quoted above.

Geminated imperatives are also found elsewhere separated by one or more words, cf. Alc. 374 L.-P. δέξαι με κωμάσδοντα, δέξαι, A. *Pr.* 274 πίθεσθέ μοι, πίθεσθε, Pi. *pae.* 6, 121 f. ἴητε νῦν ... ἴητε, Call. *H.* 5, 1 f. ἔξιτε πᾶσαι, ἔξιτε. See McLennan, *Zeus*, 128, and above, 118 n.

χαίρων: 'safe and sound', as in *Od.* 15, 128f. σὺ δέ μοι χαίρων ἀφίκοιο / οἶκον ἐυκτίμενον, cf. Thgn. 691, S. *Tr.* 819, E. *Alc.* 813, and the expression ἴθι χαίρων in Ar. *Eq.* 548, *Nub.* 510 and *Pax* 729.

151. μὴ σύ γ': cf. 97 οὐ σύ γ', 162 μὴ σύ γε, and, for the whole phrase, *Od.* 17, 595f. αὐτὸν μέν σε πρῶτα σάω, καὶ φράζεο θυμῷ, / μή τι πάθῃς. The emphatic σύ γ' makes it virtually impossible to take μὴ ... πάθῃς as a final clause in *Delos* as well.

πάθῃς κακόν: cf. *Il.* 17, 32 κακὸν παθέειν, 24, 551 κακὸν ἄλλον πάθησθα, *Od.* 20, 351 κακὸν τόδε πάσχετε, S. *Ph.* 999 παθεῖν κακόν.

151f. ἐμεῖο ... εἵνεκα τῆσδε / ἀντ' ἐλεημοσύνης: In older editions, a comma was written after εἵνεκα to indicate that τῆσδε should go with ἐλεημοσύνης. Though a stop at position 10 seems not to be allowed in the hexameter (cf. Schol. *Od.* 2, 77; Maas, *GM*, 60f.), the connexion imposes itself, the alternative ἐμεῖο ... τῆσδε, though technically quite possible (cf. *Il.* 19, 140 ἐγὼν ὅδε, *Od.* 1, 76 ἡμεῖς οἵδε; for the word-order cf. *Il.* 1, 214 ὕβριος εἵνεκα τῆσδε) being rather devoid of sense: Why should Leto expressly state 'on behalf of me *here*'? For the extraordinary place of εἵνεκα cf. *Od.* 11, 438 Ἑλένης μὲν ἀπωλόμεθ' εἵνεκα πολλοί, E. *HF* 210 δειλίας σῆς ... εἵνεκα. Cf. on the other hand below, 244f. εἵνεκα τῆσδε / ἀμπλακίης.

152. ἀντ': 22 n.

ἐλεημοσύνης: perhaps modelled by Call. himself on the Homeric *unicum* ἐλεήμων (*Od.* 5, 191), see Schmitt, *Nom.* 113 n. 1. For a comparable formation in this *sedes* cf. *Il.* 24, 772* σῇ τ' ἀγανοφροσύνῃ.

χάριτος δέ τοι ἔσσετ' ἀμοιβή: either 'and (my) grace will be returned to

you', cf. the expression χάριν ἀμείβειν / -βεσθαι in A. *Ag.* 728 f. and S. *El.* 134, or 'and for your goodwill there will be requital.' The last interpretation is in accordance with epic usage, cf. *Od.* 3, 58 f. δίδου χαρίεσσαν ἀμοιβὴν / ... ἀγακλειτῆς ἑκατόμβης, 12, 382 βοῶν ἐπιεικέ' ἀμοιβήν, and found also in E. *El.* 1147, *Hl.* 159, *Or.* 843, Pl. *Smp.* 202e, etc.

The phrase is not only an elegant expression of Leto's gratitude, but may also be a reference by Call. to the later Peneius-cult in Thessaly (cf. Ael. *VH* 3, 1; Pfeiffer on frs. 86 ff.) and possibly also in Cyrene, since the eponymous nymph of Callimachus' birthplace was Peneius' granddaughter. See Mc Kay, *Antichthon* 3 (1969), 28.

153-196. Leto now turns to the islands, but these are effectively watched by Iris, and flee at her arrival. Apollo, again prophesying from his mother's womb, warns her not to appeal to Cos, since on that island another god is destined to be born, a Macedonian, whose kingdom will extend from the far east to the far west. The divine foetus further announces a common struggle against the Gauls, for himself at Delphi, and for Philadelphus in Egypt. Finally, he instructs Leto to carry him to a small island, floating freely in the sea.

This section, at the heart of the hymn, contains the famous *vaticinium* of Apollo with the direct praise of Ptolemy Philadelphus, a feature not found in any other of Callimachus' hymns. Such a prophecy is an excellent device to make flattery of the monarch less obtrusive (contrast the direct approach of Theocritus' *Encomium*), and may therefore have been used already in earlier poems in Greek literature not known to us (see R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, Darmstadt [6]1976, 395 n. 2). However, a more obvious but hardly noticed source of inspiration for Call. is Pindar's fourth Pythian Ode, in which Medea prophesies on the foundation of Cyrene, a subject near to the poet's heart: see above, p. 133. In Tragedy also, prophecy was an important literary motif, albeit with a function quite different from the one here: see J. C. Kamerbeek, "Prophecy and Tragedy," *Mnem.* s. iv, 18 (1965), 29 ff. For the application in Hellenistic literature, especially Apollonius, see L. Hensel, *Weissagungen in der alexandrinischen Poesie* (Giessen 1908); L. Deubner, *NJb* 24 (1921), 370 ff.

As in the 'mainland-episode', here, too, one single place is saved from the disgrace of having fled from Leto, viz. Cos, the island on which Philadelphus was born in 309 B.C. (see Fraser *PA* I, 309; II, 464 n. 20). In *h.Ap.* 42, however, Cos figures in the catalogue of flying countries: see Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 143.

If *Delos* is a *genethliakon* for Philadelphus, the reference to the king's native soil is indispensable: see *Introd.*, ch. 2.1.

153. ἦ καί: *Il.* 1, 219*, 528*, *Od.* 9, 371*, 14, 494*, etc. See *Introd.*, ch. 3.2.1(b).

πολλὰ ... κάμεν: πολλά goes with κάμεν, not with πάροιθεν, cf. *Il.* 8, 22 πολλὰ κάμοιτε, *Od.* 14, 65 πολλὰ κάμῃσι, and below, 187 πολλὰ καμόντος.

ἐπεὶ κάμεν: *Il.* 21, 26*, 24, 613*, cf. 18, 614. Postponed ἐπεί is found in Homer too, but generally after the subject being named, cf. *Il.* 16, 427 Πάτροκλος δ' ἑτέρωθεν, ἐπεὶ ἴδεν, ἔκθορε δίφρου. There are several instances in Pindar (*O.* 6, 26 f., *P.* 5, 59 and 84) which may have inspired Call. here, but with other conjunctions also postponement occurs regularly in his poetry. See Lapp, 49; Mc Lennan, *Zeus*, 45.

ἔστιχε: the aorist of the simplex is found only in *Il.* 16, 258, but cf. *Od.* 12, 143 ἀπέστιχε, 20, 73 προσέστιχε, etc. For the accusative of direction with verbs of movement see Chantr. II, 45 f.; for στείχω with such an accusative cf. A. *Pr.* 708, S. *OC* 643, E. *Ion* 1616, etc.

154. εἰναλίας: an unnecessary correction by Lascaris of the MSS reading εἰναλίδας. As Schneider states, the occurrence of a variant εἰναλίς alongside with ἔναλος is perfectly possible, cf. θοῦρος ~ θοῦρις, ἑσπέριος ~ ἑσπερίς, etc. For Callimachus' preference for nouns with the -ιδ-suffix see the extensive list in Schmitt, *Nom.* 22 f., cf. 48. Also from a metrical point of view εἰναλίδᾱς is without difficulty, especially since it is followed by a stop: cf. below, l. 229 'Αρτέμιδŏς, and *Od.* 10, 64 πῶς ἦλθἐς, 'Οδυσσεῦ; See Chantr. I, 104 f.; *Introd.*, ch. 4.3.2 (2). Moreover, νήσους εἰναλίδας presents a variation of l. 32 νήσους εἰναλίας and 196 εἰν ἁλὶ νῆσοι, which is in accordance with the style of the hymn.

ἐπερχομένην: 'at her arrival', cf. *Od.* 22, 198, Thgn. 786.

155. οὐ λιπαρόν: not to be taken together, since οὐ belongs to the anaphora οὔ (154) ... οὐ (155) ... οὐδ' (156), which forms a kind of pendant to the repeated φεῦγε in 70 ff. With λιπαρόν, Call. refers to the situation in the mythical past, when the Echinades undoubtedly offered a fine anchorage, since they were able to provide ships for king Meges of Dulichium (cf. *Il.* 2, 625 ff.), and were used by the Taphians as a naval base, cf. Hes. fr. 193, 17 f., E. *Alcm.* fr. 151, III 15 Austin, Euphor. fr. 415 (ii), 14 *Suppl. Hell.*, cf. fr. 964, 11. In historical times, the islands gradually became attached to the mainland by the silting up of the mouth of the Achelous, cf. Hdt. 2, 10, Thuc. 2, 102, 3 ff., Strab. 10, 2, 19, Schol. Pi. *O.* 5, 20 e. See Mc Kay, *Antichthon* 3 (1969), 27 f., associating the decline of the Echinades with the idea of the punishment of the countries and islands that fled before Leto. See also above, 86-99 n. and 101 n.

As an epithet for a harbour, λιπαρός 'splendid' is not attested elsewhere: but it qualifies e.g. Chios in *h.Ap.* 38, Naxos in Pi. *P.* 4, 88, and the Peloponnese in Ba. 1, 13; cf. below, l. 164 (Cos). J. N. Madvig, *Adversaria critica* I (Copenhagen 1871), 291 f., proposed to read λιαρός 'warm, soft, gentle', said of liquids, wind and sleep (*LSJ*). If λιπαρός constitutes a

problem at all (*quod non*, as far as I see), λιαρός is at least as curious to qualify a harbour.

νήεσσι: nearly always in this *sedes* in Homer, cf. *Il.* 4, 239; 9, 347; 10, 214, etc.

156. ἥτις: referring to a specific antecedent, as in *Il.* 1, 85; 5, 175, *Od.* 2, 124, etc.; see P. Monteil, *La phrase relative en grec ancien*, Ét. et Comm. 47 (Paris 1963) 141; Williams, *Apollo*, 33.

For the inversion cf. frs. 519 and 550, *H.* 3, 173 with Bornmann's note, and see Pfeiffer on fr. 6. For ἥτις with superlative cf. *Il.* 7, 50 ὅστις ἄριστος, *Od.* 1, 352 ἥτις νεωτάτη, A. *Se.* 65 ὅστις ὤκιστος, S. *OR* 344 ἥτις ἀγριωτάτη, etc. See Monteil, *o.c.*, 140.

Κέρκυρα: it is remarkable that Call. did not choose one of the older names for the island (cf. Hellanic. 4 FGH 77 ἡ νῆσος Κέρκυρα ... τὸ πρὶν Δρεπάνη τε καὶ Σχέρια κληθεῖσα), just as we find Macris for Euboea (l. 20), Ephyra for Corinth (42), and Parthenie for Samos (49).

φιλοξεινωτάτη: the superlative also in A. fr. 329, 2 Mette, Cratin. 1, 2, cf. Euphor. fr. 101 Pow. = 105 v. Gron. The obvious reference is to Scheria, the island of the Phaeacians, which was identified with Cercyra by Call. too, cf. frs. 12-14, with Pfeiffer's notes. For φιλόξεινος in connexion with the Phaeacians cf. *Od.* 6, 121. The epithet may be as well an ironical reference to the instable political situation on the island in the first decennia of the third century B.C., as a result of which the Cercyrians had to 'welcome' a whole series of political leaders. See P. Levêque, *Pyrrhos* (Paris 1957), 198; Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 160; Will I, 103.

φιλοξεινωτάτη ἄλλων: cf. *Il.* 1, 505* ὠκυμορώτατος ἄλλων, *Od.* 5, 105* ὀιζυρώτατον ἄλλων, etc., frequently imitated in Hellenistic literature, cf. A.R. 1, 180, Theoc. fr. 3, 4, Arat. 1056, etc. See Schneider, 287 f.

The genitive is separative according to Chantr. II, 60, comparative according to Schwyzer II, 100, while J. S. Lasso de Vega, *Emer.* 27 (1959), 111 f., explains the combination as a contamination. An obvious (but commonly overlooked) reason to replace πάντων by ἄλλων is of course that -ώτατος πάντων and -ωτάτη πασῶν are unmetrical.

157. Ἶρις: only now the name of the second guardian comes out in full, while κόρη Θαύμαντος in 67 left room for several interpretations. See above, 67 n.

ἐπεί: for the postposition see above, 153 n.

πάσῃσιν: for σπέρχομαι + dative cf. Hdt. 5, 33 ἐσπέρχετο τῷ Ἀρισταγόρῃ.

ὑψηλοῖο: common epithet with mountains, cf. *Il.* 12, 282, Hes. *Th.* 632, Pi. fr. 52b 98, etc. Wilamowitz' statement "Flickwörter gibt es bei K(allimachos) nicht" (*GGN* 1893, 733 n. 2), should not be taken to the letter, cf. above, 32

νήσους εἰναλίας, 93 νιφόεντα. As a place on which to keep watch a high mountain is preferable, of course, though for a god such a consideration is unnecessary: cf. *Od.* 5, 282 ff., where all the way from Lycia Poseidon discerns Odysseus who approaches the island of the Phaeacians.

158. σπερχομένην μάλα δεινόν: cf. above, 1.60 σπερχομένη μέγα δή τι. For μάλα δεινόν cf. Pl. *Phlb.* 44 b μάλα δεινοὺς λεγομένους, Xen. *An.* 4, 6, 16 μάλα ... δεινοῦ τοῦ κινδύνου. It varies Homeric μάλα πολλά / πολλόν (*Il.* 9, 398, etc.), μάλα μέγα (22, 407), μάλα πάγχυ (*Od.* 14, 367), μάλ' ἐκπάγλως (*Cypr.* fr. 14 OCT), etc., see Thesleff, *Intensif.*, 32. For δεινόν with verbs of rage see above, 56 n.

ἀπέτρεπεν: the MSS have ἀπέτραπεν here, but the imperfect offered by *P.Oxy.* 2225 is slightly preferable in view of ἐδέχοντο in the main clause: action and reaction are logically best described by the same tense. 'Απέτραπεν is Homeric (*Il.* 11, 757*, 15, 276*), whereas ἀπέτρεπεν is not: but cf. *Il.* 8, 432 τρέπε, 10, 79* and *Od.* 2, 226* ἐπέτρεπε(ν).

αἱ δ' ὑπ' ὁμοκλῆς: cf. *h.Cer.* 88 ≅ Hes. *Sc.* 341 τοὶ δ' ὑπ' ὁμοκλῆς, of flying horses, which corresponds nicely with the flying islands here. In Homer, ὁμοκλή etc. is always found at the end of the line, but (i) it is always written ὁμ-, hence the reading υφομ[in *P.Oxy.*: see Pfeiffer II, *Proleg.* LXXXIX; Chantr., *Dict. Ét.* 799; Schmitt, *Nom.* 141 n. 7, and (ii) it points to exhortation rather than to threatening, which is the meaning here.

For the combination of ὁμοκλή + σπέρχομαι in the same line cf. *Il.* 24, 248 σπερχομένοιο γέροντος· ὁ δ' υἱάσιν οἷσιν ὁμόκλα.

159. πασσυδίῃ: 'with all speed'. Homer has πανσυδίῃ in *Il.* 2, 12*, 29*, 66*, 11, 709* and 725, cf. Ba. 13, 141 πασσυδίαι. The spelling πανσ- was preferred by Aristarchus, cf. Schol. *Il.* 2, 12; πασσ- may have been in Zenodotus' edition, which Call. regularly follows: see Pfeiffer, *HCS*, 139 f.

φοβέοντο: cf. *Il.* 16, 304* προτροπάδην φοβέοντο. Φοβέομαι here = φεύγω, as in Homer, cf. Schol. *Il.* 5, 223 b. In 139, however, φόβος = 'fear', not 'flight': see above. The combination πανσυδίῃ with φοβεῖσθαι is not attested in Homer.

κατὰ ῥόον: 'along with the stream', the fastest way. Cf. *Il.* 21, 147*, *Od.* 5, 327*, 461*, 12, 204* and 14, 254*, regularly in connexion with the sea.

ἥντινα τέτμοι: 'whomsoever she reached.' The subject must be Leto, of course, and not Iris, who firmly stays on Mt. Mimas (cf. 157 ἐφ' ὑψηλοῖο Μίμαντος), shouting her threats from there.

For the iterative optative in the relative clause cf. *Il.* 2, 188 ὅντινα ... κιχείη, 15, 22 ὃν δὲ λάβοιμι, etc. See Chantr. II, 248.

160. ὠγυγίην ... Κόων Μεροπηΐδα νῆσον: cf. *h.Ap.* 42 Κόως τε, πόλις Μερόπων ἀνθρώπων, Thuc. 8, 41, 2 = Pherecyd. 3 FGH 78 ἐς Κῶν τὴν

Μεροπίδα, [Boeus] *Ornith.* 21 Pow. Κόων Μεροπηΐδα νῆσον, Herond. 2, 95 ἡ Κῶς κὼ Μέροψ. For Κόων + νῆσον cf. Thgn. 1277 Κύπρον περικαλλέα νῆσον; for ὠγυγίην νῆσον cf. *Od.* 1, 85 *al.* νῆσον ἐς Ὠγυγίην, 23, 333 Ὠγυγίην νῆσον (where ὠγυγίην need not be a proper name, cf. West, *Theog.*, 378). For ὠγύγιος = 'very ancient' in Tragedy see Jebb's note on S. *OC* 1770.

In *Il.* 2, 677 the accusative is Κῶν, but *Il.* 14, 255 and 15, 28 have Κόωνδ'; Κόων is found in Hes. fr. 43 a, 66*.

For Cos as the daughter of Merops, a mythical king of the island, cf. also Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κῶς, and see H. Dibbelt, *Quaestiones Coae mythologiae* (Greifswald 1891), 1 ff. For the suffix see above, 150 n. For the extensive circumscription cf. above, l. 20 Μάκρις Ἀβαντιὰς Ἐλλοπιήων, with note.

δήπειτα: one of the four instances of crasis in *Delos*, see *Introd.*, ch. 4.4.1. It is found written like that regularly in the MSS of Homer, where modern editors prefer δὴ ἔπειτα: cf. *Od.* 8, 378; 11, 121; 14, 406, etc. See Pfeiffer on fr. 488; West, *Theog.*, 100.

161. ἵετο: the MSS and *P.Oxy.ined.* have ἵκετο here, a common Homeric form, regularly taking the accusative (cf. *Il.* 15, 84*, *h.Cer.* 318*). ἵ]ετο, as supplied by Lobel in *P.Oxy.* 2225, is less frequent in Homer (*Il.* 16, 383*, 866*, cf. 13, 585*, *al.*), and never found with an accusative (unless perhaps in *Od.* 22, 304), two phenomena which almost recommend it as a Callimachean form. Also the sense 'she hastened to Cos' (apparently the only island that does not flee and therefore immediately approached by Leto) is more apt than 'she arrived at Cos', especially in view of the following 'but her child restrained her.'

Χαλκιόπης: Chalciope is the daughter of king Eurypylus of Cos (cf. *Il.* 2, 677), married to Heracles after the hero had subdued the Meropians. See Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (Stuttgart 1906), 451 f.; Dibbelt, *o.c.* (160 n.), 21, 25.

ἱερὸν μυχόν: Kuiper supposed this to refer to some heroine-cult for Chalciope on Cos, such a cult being known for her brother Chalco(do)n too; cf. Theoc. 7, 5 with Gow's note. But μυχόν, regularly used of a part of some region or island (cf. E. *Tr.* 84 κοῖλον Εὐβοίας μυχόν), is rather harsh then. Perhaps μυχός here = θάλαμος, as in *Od.* 4, 304 and 310 (see A. J. B. Wace, "Notes on the Homeric House," *JHS* 71, 1951, 210), the reference being to the wedlock of Heracles and Chalciope: since Heracles was no favourite of Hera at all (and *vice versa*), Leto could reasonably expect to be welcome on Cos, 'Chalciope's bridal-chamber'. Ἱερός is fitting in relation to a ἡρωίνη, but may also serve as an extra praise for the birth-country of Philadelphus; cf. also above, l. 3 Κυκλάδες, ... νήσων ἱερώταται, with note.

ἡρωίνη: before Call. found only in Ar. *Nub.* 315 and inscriptions, in the contracted form ἡρῴνη. See Schmitt, *Nom.* 112 n. 38.

162. ἀλλά ἑ: *Il.* 18, 119*; 5, 613; 13, 414.

παιδός: according to Giangrande, *CR* n.s. 12 (1962), 189, the use of παῖς here and in 253 ff. proves that "παῖς can mean 'baby' in the act of being born in Callimachus." We should realize, however, that Apollo here presents a quite exceptional child, almost fullgrown, prophesying, showing the way to his mother, and preparing and even performing his own birth.

ἔρυκεν ἔπος τόδε: an extraordinary speech introduction, see *Introd.*, ch. 3.2.1(a). For ἔρυκεν with a non-personal subject cf. *Od.* 9, 302 ἕτερος δέ με θυμὸς ἔρυκεν (not introducing direct speech).

μὴ σύ γε: Schneider took offence at γε, since it would imply that Apollo wished another mother to give birth to him. But γε is often otiose in the stock combination μὴ σύ γε, see Denn.², 121 f., and above, 151 n. For μή with the optative cf. *Od.* 12, 106 μὴ σύ γε κεῖθι τύχοις, and see Chantr. II, 213.

μῆτερ: *Il.* 6, 264*.

163. τῇ με τέκοις: cf. 195 τῇ με φέροις. Also in early epic, τῇ may go with a notion of rest and of movement alike, cf. *Od.* 4, 847 and 8, 556.

οὔτ' οὖν ... οὐδέ: elsewhere only οὔτ' οὖν ... οὔτε is found, cf. *Il.* 17, 20, *Od.* 1, 414 f., Pi. *O.* 6, 52 f., E. *Andr.* 713, etc.: see Denn.², 419 f. Without οὖν, οὔτε ... οὐδέ is found in Homer only in *Od.* 13, 207 f., cf. Pi. *P.* 8, 83 ff., S. *OC* 1139 ff. (MSS), Pl. *Ap.* 19 d, etc.; see Denn.², 193.

ἐπιμέμφομαι: *Od.* 16, 115*. The person blamed generally takes the dative (cf. *Od.* 16, 97), an accusative being found in S. *Tr.* 122.

οὐδὲ μεγαίρω: *Il.* 4, 54*. In *Od.* 2, 235, μνηστῆρας at first sight ("*primo saltem obtutu*," Kuiper 150), could pass for the accusative with οὔ τι μεγαίρω: elsewhere the dative is found. See McLennan, *Zeus*, 96.

164. λιπαρή: 155 n. — *P.Oxy.*'s ἀγαθή (if correct) is equally possible, cf. *Od.* 9, 27 ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος (of Ithaca; cf. Sol. fr. 43 λιπαρὴ κουροτρόφος), 13, 246 and 15, 405, both also of islands. (For the hiatus in this *sedes* cf. above, 1.42.) The imitation by Dionysius Periegetes (lines 502 and 921), however, favours the MSS text.

τε καί: M. L. West, *Philol.* 110 (1966), 158, states that Call. tends to avoid τε καί, which would have been felt as facile, and that γε καί here would be ideal. But τε καί is found in *Delos* in lines 6, 17, 73 (MSS), 107, 169, 267, 283 and 293, which seems not to point to any aversion on the poet's part, and γε is superfluous, since the stress is already amply provided for by εἴ νύ τις ἄλλη.

εὔβοτος: Homeric *unicum* in *Od.* 15, 406 (cf. Pl. *Criti.* 111a), where Wackernagel, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer* (Göttingen 1916), 245 f., proposed εὔβοος; cf. also A.R. 3, 1086 ἐύρρηνός τε καὶ εὔβοτος, probably drawing on Call. See Schmitt, *Nom.* 62 n. 27.

εἴ νύ τις ἄλλη: cf. fr. 226 εἴ τις ἄλλη, Hdt. 3, 2 εἴ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι, S. *OC*

1118 εἴπερ τις ἄλλος, E. *Andr.* 6 εἴ τις ἄλλος, etc. See Jebb on S. *Tr.* 8; Thesleff, *Intensif.*, 190.

165. ἀλλά οἱ: 16 n.

ἐκ Μοιρέων: for the synizesis cf. above, 1.5 ἐκ Μουσέων. For ὀφείλεσθαι ἐκ cf. A. fr. 315 N. (not in Mette) ἐκ θεῶν ὀφείλεται. For ἐκ with a passive verbal form in Homer (*Il.* 18, 75, etc.) see Chantr. II, 100.

Homer has the plural Μοῖραι only once (*Il.* 24, 49), but it is common in Hesiod, Pindar and Tragedy. From deities primarily concerned with death, the Moirae developed into beings with influence on the whole sphere of men's life, especially associated with birth. See B. C. Dietrich, *Death, Fate and the Gods*, Univ. Lond. Class. Stud. 3 (1967), 78 ff.; Dodds, *Greeks and Irr.*, 7, with notes; Nilsson, *GGR* I, 361 ff.

ὀφειλόμενος ... ἐστί = ὀφείλεται, cf. *Il.* 8, 524 μῦθος ... εἰρημένος ἔστω, *Od.* 9, 455 πεφυγμένον εἶναι. See Schwyzer I, 811 f.; II, 407 f. For ὀφείλεσθαι in connexion with fate cf. A. *Ch.* 310, S. *Ph.* 1421, E. *Alc.* 419, etc. See Mc Kay, *PaP*, 94 f.

θεὸς ἄλλος: *Il.* 10, 511*. The phrase certainly does not imply that Philadelphus was officially deified at the time of the hymn's composition: see *Introd.*, ch. 2.2.

166. ἐστί: for the enjambement cf. *Od.* 15, 115 f.

Σαωτήρων: epicising uncontracted form of σωτήρ, cf. 1.22 σαοῖ, and see Schmitt, *Nom.* 70 n. 8. For θεοὶ Σωτῆρες as the official cult-title of Ptolemy Soter and Berenice see Fraser, *PA* II, 367 f. n. 229.

ὕπατον: common epithet of Zeus, cf. *Il.* 19, 258, *Od.* 19, 303, *h.Cer.* 21, Thgn. 276, A. *Ag.* 509, etc., but also of other gods and divine things, see *LSJ*.

γένος: here referring to *one* child, as in *Il.* 21, 186: see above, 109 n.

ᾧ ὑπὸ μίτρην etc.: 'under whose crown shall come, not unwillingly to be governed by a Macedonian, both continents and those lands that are placed in the sea.' Ὑπὸ μίτρην ἵξεται varies (in friendlier terms) Homeric ὑπὸ σκήπτρῳ ἐδάμασσε (*Il.* 6, 159, cf. 9, 156, 298). Μίτρη here may denote an emblem of Hellenistic royalty, probably identical with the διάδημα, a narrow ribbon or string tied around the hair with a knot at the back of the head, as can be seen on royal portraits of the period. See G. M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks*, III (London 1965), Figs. 1744 ff. The same μίτρα will have been meant by Theocritus modelling the compound αἰολομίτρος (*Id.* 17, 19): Gow *ad loc.* has an extensive note on all kinds of μίτραι. See further H.-W. Ritter, "Diadem und Königsherrschaft," *Vestigia* 7 (1965), 151; H. Brandenburg, *Studien zur Mitra* (Münster 1966), 157 f.; McLennan, *Zeus*, 53. For a possible allusion to the Egyptian Double Crown see below, 168 n.

167. οὐκ ἀέκουσα: cf. *Od.* 19, 374 οὐκ ἀέκουσαν, and the formulaic οὐκ

ἀέκοντε in *Il.* 5, 366, *Od.* 3, 494, etc. For the formal agreement with the first subject (μεσόγεια) only see Chantr. II, 18 f.

Μακηδόνι: with metrical lengthening as in Hes. fr. 7, 2 Μακηδόνα θ' ἱππιοχάρμην, the common spelling being Μακεδών, cf. A. *Pe.* 492, Hdt. 5, 18, Thuc. 1, 57, 2, etc.

For the dative with the passive (especially δάμνημι) cf. *Il.* 5, 465; 18, 103, etc., and see Chantr. II, 73.

κοιρανέεσθαι: the infinitive may depend either on ἵξεται (for the infinitive after verbs of movement see Chantr. II, 301) or on οὐκ ἀέκουσα (with inf. in *Il.* 18, 240, S. fr. 929, etc.), the latter being the more natural one as far as word-order is concerned. The passive is not used elsewhere, though we do find τυραννεῖσθαι and βασιλεύεσθαι, terms more politically coloured than κοιρανέεσθαι. For the *sedes* cf. *Od.* 1, 247* κοιρανέουσι, *Il.* 4, 230* κοιρανέοντα.

168. ἀμφοτέρη μεσόγεια: generally explained by the commentators (Howald-Staiger, Kuiper, Mair, Perrotta and Schneider) as 'both continents', viz. Africa and Asia, though they all wondered about the origin of this usage, μεσόγαια/-γεια generally meaning 'inland parts, interior', cf. Hdt. 1, 175, Thuc. 1, 100, Dem. 18, 301, etc. Neither 'continent' nor 'inland parts', however, serve well to denote Ptolemy's possessions in Asia, which in 274 B.C., the year in which I suppose *Delos* to have been written (see *Introd.*, ch. 2.2.), comprised hardly more than Coele-Syria; neither is it likely that later conquests by Philadelphus in the First Syrian War (coastal regions of Phoenicia and Cilicia, and bases in Pamphylia, Lycia and Caria; see Will I, 130; Fraser, PA II, 933 f.) could be referred to by one of these terms.

Cahen tried to solve the problem by explaining ἀμφ. μεσ. as the 'terres de l'intérieur' in Africa and Asia, in contrast to the 'régions côtières et des îles.' But apart from the fact that the Ptolemies did not have any inland possessions in Asia, it is unthinkable that αἵ πελάγεσσι κάθηνται could refer to the coastal regions of the continent and the islands alike. Moreover, the contrast between continent and islands is a stock theme in *Delos*, cf. lines 62-66, 267, and also *H.* 3, 37 μεσσόγεως νήσους τε. There Bornmann, perhaps unconsciously, offers another possibility, translating our line by 'il continente e le isole,' which probably means '*both* the continent and the islands.' This, however, would be ἀμφότερα in Greek (cf. A. *Eu.* 480 f. ἀμφότερα, μένειν πέμπειν τε, Pi. *O.* 1, 104, etc.), which is possibly what Call. originally wrote.

It is surprising that no one has ever supposed 'both interior countries' to refer to Lower and Upper Egypt, the title 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Countries' being a standard one for the Egyptian Pharaoh, and attested explicitly for Philadelphus: see S. Sauneron, "Un document égyptien relatif à la divinisation de la reine Arsinoé II," *BIFAO* 60 (1960), 89.

For the use of ἤπειρος cf. *A.P.* 9, 235, 6 (Crinagoras, *ca.* 20 B.C.) ἠπείροις ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις, referring to Egypt and Mauretania + Numidia: see Gow-Page, *Garland*, II, 239 f.; Macurdy, *o.c.* (123 n.), 225. The idea is attractive for several further reasons: (i) The basic meaning 'inland' perfectly suits Egypt as seen from Alexandria. (ii) The curious μίτρη in l. 166 can be interpreted as the Double Crown, still a real symbol of the king's power, since the Ptolemies continued to celebrate the traditional Egyptian enthronization rites: see A. Moret, *Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique* (Paris 1902), 107. For a portrait of Philadelphus with a *nemset* headdress see B. v. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (New York [2]1969), 121 f. with Plate 90, figs. 239-41. The reference is especially to the point, if my theory is right that *Delos* was written at the occasion of Philadelphus' birthday, since that day virtually coincided with the anniversary of the king's accession to the throne (see *Introd.*, ch. 2.1.6 ff.). (iii) Lines 168 f. present a pretty description of the four parts of the Empire as seen from Alexandria: 'both Egypts' in the south, the islands in the north, περάτη and the ὁππόθεν clause referring to the west and the east respectively: so a description of the four quarters, as in lines 280 ff. below. Here, again, a reference to Egyptian ceremonies may be intended, since the four quarters play a certain role in the Egyptian New Year Festival: see Moret, *o.c.*, 235 ff. on the ceremony of the releasing of the four birds to the four quarters, and H. W. Fairman (in: *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, Oxford 1958, 84) on that of the Crossing of the Field in the direction of each of the four winds. It is only natural to suppose that Callimachus, that collector or marvels from all over the world, also took a keen interest in Egyptian rituals immediately concerning his royal patron.

καὶ αἵ: *Od.* 16, 317* = 19, 498* = 22, 418*: For the omission of νῆσοι as antecedent cf. above, l. 21 καὶ ἣν ἐπενήξατο Κύπρις; it is not omitted in 267 καὶ αἵ περιναίετε νῆσοι.

κάθηνται: only seldom said of districts or countries, cf. Thphr. *HP* 8, 8, 7 χωρία ὁμοίως καθήμενα, E. fr. 1083, 13 f. Ἦλις ἡ Διὸς / γείτων κάθηται (καλεῖται Nauck), also Hdt. 9, 57 ἱρὸν ἧσται.

Note the variation in the description of islands: l. 3 αἵ νήσων ἱερώταται εἰν ἁλὶ κεῖνται, 32 (cf. 153 f.) νήσους εἰναλίας, 196 εἰν ἁλὶ νῆσοι, 213 νῆσος ἐπιπλώουσα θαλάσσῃ, 267 αἵ περιναίετε νῆσοι.

169. The description of the Ptolemaic Empire offered in this line has often been regarded as an indication that the hymn must have been composed after the First Syrian War: see B. Ehrlich, *art. cit.* (46 n.), 3 and 30; Herter, *RE* Suppl. V, 441; XIII, 238; Fraser, *PA* II, 924 f. Callimachus' description, however, is extremely vague, certainly more so than the comparable one in Theoc. 17, 86 ff., which according to Gow (p. 339) points to a date at the end of or after the First Syrian War, but in Fraser's opinion could possibly have

been written as early as 276/5 B.C. (*PA* II, 934). Callimachus' lines, panegyrically describing an Empire stretching 'from south to north, from east to west' can certainly not be pressed to be an infallible indication that at the time of the hymn's composition the Ptolemaic Empire was at its greatest extent. See also above, *Introd.*, ch. 2.2.

μέχρις ὅπου: Homer has μέχρι(ς) twice (*Il.* 13, 143; 24, 18, cf. Callin. fr. 1, 1, Thgn. 1299), as a preposition with the genitive; it is more common in prose. The combination μέχρις ὅπου is not found elsewhere, but cf. Pl. *Grg.* 487 c μέχρις ὅποι, *Sph.* 222 a μέχρις ἐνταῦθα, Thuc. 8, 24 μέχρις τότε, etc., see *LSJ*.

περάτη: Homeric *unicum* in *Od.* 23, 243 f. ('Αθήνη) νύκτα μὲν ἐν περάτῃ δολιχὴν σχέθεν, Ἠῶ δ' αὖτε / ῥύσατ' ἐπ' Ὠκεανῷ, where περάτη is commonly explained by modern commentators as 'west' (see Stanford's note and *LSJ*), evidently because of the contrasting αὖτε. The scholiasts, however, understand the word to mean 'the end of the night', hence 'east' (πρὸς τέλει αὐτὴν οὖσαν δολιχὴν ἐπέσχεν ... Q. ἤδη πρὸς τῷ πέρατι καὶ τῷ τέλει οὖσαν V.), and that is also the way Apollonius uses it in 1, 1280 f. ('Ηὼς / ἐκ περάτης ἀνιοῦσα), whereas Aratus applies it to the whole southern hemisphere in 1.499. See A. Ronconi, *SIFC* 14 (1937), 176; Schmitt, *Nom.*, 129 n. 9. In his use of περάτη for 'west', then, Call. appears to be unique.

ὠκέες ἵπποι: *Il.* 5, 257*, 8, 88*, *Od.* 3, 496*, Hes. *Sc.* 61*, etc. It is not often that Call. uses a downright Homeric formula: see above, 64 n.; Schmitt, *Nom.* 50 n. 5.

The idea of Helios driving a carriage, which does not occur in Homer, is found in the *Titanomachia* (*Test.* III, p. 110 O.C.T.), in *h.Cer.* 63, Thgn. 997, Mimn. 12, 1 ff., Pi. *O.* 7, 71, etc.: see Dörig-Gigon, *o.c.* (142 f. note), 51 ff.; R. Hampe, *GGA* 215 (1963), 149 ff.; K. Schauenburg, *Helios* (Berlin 1955), 36 and n. 320. The earliest representations of Helios with horses on vases etc. date from the end of the sixth century B.C.: see Hamdorf, *Kultpersonif.*, 19 f., 86 f.

169 f. ἵπποι / 'Ηέλιον φορέουσιν: cf. *Il.* 10, 322 f. ἵππους ... / οἳ φορέουσιν ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα.

170. ὁ δ' εἴσεται ἤθεα πατρός: though in *Il.* 8, 535 διαείσεται is the future of διαείδομαι (cf. 13, 277), Kranz (p. 86) is evidently wrong in supposing εἴσεται to be the future of εἴδομαι here, since a dative would be indispensable in that case. Εἴσεται ἤθεα is no doubt modelled on Homeric phrases like μήδεα εἰδώς (*Il.* 17, 325), δήνεα οἶδε (4, 361) and κεδνὰ ἰδυῖα (*Od.* 1, 428), the sense thus being 'and he will tread in his father's footsteps'. Since Soter and Philadelphus were not very much alike neither physically nor in character, the implication must be mainly of a political nature, on the lines of Verg. *B.* 4, 17 *pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem.* There is a close

parallel in Theoc. 17, 63, where Philadelphus is called πατρὶ ἐοικώς (cf. 44 τέκνα δ' οὐ ποτεοικότα πατρί, see also G. Perrotta, *SIFC* n.s. 4 (1925-27), 47 and 50), while Eratosthenes, fr. 35 Pow., makes a comparable statement on Ptolemy Euergetes: see Fraser, *PA* I, 659. Hes. *Op.* 235 (τίκτουσι ... γυναῖκες ἐοικότα τέκνα γονεῦσιν), referred to by Reinsch-Werner, *Call. hes.*, 375, has hardly any bearing on Callimachus' words.

ἤθεα: in Homer only said of haunts of animals, cf. *Il.* 6, 511, etc.; with the meaning 'manners, customs' it occurs from Hesiod (*Th.* 66*, *Op.* 137*) onward.

171 ff. Apollo now proceeds to describe vividly the attack of the Gauls on Delphi and the revolt of the Gaulish mercenaries in Egypt, using one continuous period which runs on as far as l. 187. Apart from the textual difficulties the passage is complicated by the obscurity of expression, reasonably explained by Danielsson, *o.c.* (1 n.), 96, as a parody on the tortuous and inflated oracular style, found in its most extreme form in Lycophron's *Alexandra*: see Wilam., *HD* II, 149 ff.; Cahen, *Comm.*, 187; Fraser, *PA* I, 659 f.

The story of the invasion can be resumed as follows (see *CAH* VII, 101 ff.; R. Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens à Delphes* (Paris 1937), 94 ff.; G. Nachtergael, *Les Galates en Grèce et les Sôtéria de Delphes* (Bruxelles 1977), 146, 172 ff.; Will I, 89): Having smashed Ptolemy Keraunos' army in the beginning of 279 B.C., Gaulish bands could penetrate unimpeded into central Greece. At the end of the year one of these, under a certain Brennus, made its way to Delphi, where the main force was checked by hastily mobilized troops, most of them Aetolians. A smaller body of these Gauls, however, succeeded in capturing the nearby city of Kallion or Kallipolis, which was ransacked and set on fire, but the flying column that was sent to plunder the sanctuary of Delphi was caught there by a hail- or snowstorm accompanied by thunder and earthquakes, generated, it was thought, by the personal intervention (ἐπιφανεία) of Apollo. A combined force of Delphians, Aetolians and Phocians then managed to turn the Gauls away to the north, where most of them were annihilated subsequently by Antigonus Gonatas. In commemoration of the events, Gaulish shields were attached to the frieze of the Delphic sanctuary.

The most striking aspect of Callimachus' description is that it depicts mainly the terror of the Greeks at the view of those savages ravaging their country and attacking even the god's sanctuary, while the victory over the Gauls is only obliquely hinted at (cf. 185 τέων αἱ μὲν ἐμοὶ γέρας). The horror of the Alexandrians, being confronted some years later with revolting Gaulish mercenaries in their own neighbourhood, must have been much the same.

171. καί νύ ... τις: cf. *Od.* 6, 275 καί νύ τις ὧδ' εἴπῃσι. Elsewhere in Homer καί νυ generally introduces an *irrealis*.

ποτε: on κοτε / ποτε see Pfeiffer, *Proleg.*, XC; *Aet.* fr. 75, 54. Pfeiffer is inconsistent, however, in defending ποτε πᾶσαν there and κοτε ... κύον κύον in fr. 75, 4 in virtue of the alliteration, but writing κοτε παρραλίῃ in *H.* 3, 238 and ποτε ξυνός in this line of *Delos*.

ξυνός: generally refers to a whole group or people; applied to two persons or groups it is found in Pi. *P.* 4, 154 (ἄνευ ξυνᾶς ἀνίας, of Jason and Pelias), 9, 13 (ξυνὸν ... γάμον) and Hdt. 4, 12 (ξυνὸς Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων λόγος). With κοινός the usage is more common, especially in family relations, cf. S. *Ant.* 1, etc., see *LSJ*.

ἐλεύσεται: nearly always in this *sedes* in Homer (*Il.* 1, 425*, *Od.* 10, 538*, 11, 135*, etc.), but always with a personal subject. For ἔρχομαι of events to come cf. *Od.* 1, 16 ἔτος ἦλθε, 11, 192 ἔλθῃσι θέρος, and above, 128 n.

ἄεθλος: only four times out of fifty in Homer in direct connexion with war activities, cf. *Il.* 3, 126, *Od.* 4, 170, 240; 3, 262. See Trümpy, *Krieg. Fachausdr.*, 150 f.

172. ὕστερον: also in 190* and 254*. For ὕστερον ὁππόταν cf. S. *Tr.* 77 μεθύστερον, ὅτε, *Il.* 8, 475 ἤματι τῷ, ὅτ' ἂν οἱ μὲν ... μάχωνται.

ὁππόταν: written ὁππότ' ἂν in *Il.* 15, 209, *Od.* 1, 41; 8, 444, *h.Ap.* 459, etc.; see Schwyzer I, 306 n. 2; *LfgrE* 726. For ὁπ(π)ότ' ἂν with subjunctive referring to a single event in the future cf. *Il.* 16, 62, *Od.* 6, 303, etc., and see Chantr. II, 258. A comparable long period with subjunctives after ὄφρα is found in *Il.* 15, 56 ff.

οἱ μέν: to be connected with l. 174 ὀψίγονοι Τιτῆνες, a marked hyperbaton. The fact that οἱ μέν remains for some time unclear can be explained as an element of oracular style.

ἐφ': 'against'. See above, 78 n.

Ἑλλήνεσσι: cf. Hes. *Op.* 528 Πανελλήνεσσι, Ba. 13, 56 f. Ἑλ[λάνεσσι]ν. The statement of Kuiper (p. 47, on *H.* 3, 4) that these extended forms on -εσσι are typical of κοινή Greek is hardly to the point, since this Aeolic ending is fully integrated in early epic. See Chantr. I, 204 ff.; Schwyzer I, 564.

According to W. W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* (Oxford 1913), 44, the name Ἑλλήνεσσι is carefully chosen here, since the Gaulish invasion was not primarily aimed at Delphi alone, as was often maintained, but against Greece as a whole. I am not convinced, however, that Call. had such an intimate knowledge of the Gauls' intentions: his account is certainly completely focused on Delphic affairs.

μάχαιραν: always at the end of the line in early epic, also in other cases, cf. *Il.* 3, 271*, 18, 597*, *h.Ap.* 535*, Hes. fr. 209, 2*, etc. In Homer, μάχαιρα generally is the long knife used for sacrifices, but in *Il.* 18, 597 the golden μάχαιραι of the dancing young men would probably be ornamental daggers or sabres, the way the word is used in Pindar, Herodotus and Attic prose.

See Schmitt, *Nom.* 29 n. 26. In l. 183 below, the Gaulish sword is called φάσγανον.

172f. μάχαιραν / βαρβαρικὴν καὶ Κελτὸν ἀναστήσαντες Ἄρηα: 'raising barbarian sword and Gaulish war', a curious zeugmatic expression, for in fact neither μάχαιραν ἀνιστάναι nor Ἄρηα ἀνιστάναι is a stock combination. For the latter one could compare *Od.* 11, 314 φυλόπιδα στήσειν πολυάϊκος πολέμοιο, and such expressions as Ἄρηα ἐγείρειν / συνάγειν / φέρειν ἐπί τινι (see *LfgrE*, 1246ff.), but the combination proper is unique.

173. βαρβαρικήν: apart from Simon. fr. 65, 4 D. (not in Page and West) found exclusively in prose, βάρβαρος being used in poetry.

Κελτόν: first in Hdt. (2, 33, 3; 4, 49, 3). The Gauls are named either Κελτοί or Γαλάται in Greek, without any marked difference, cf. Strab. 4, 1, 14, Paus. 1, 4, 1, and see Untermann, *KlP* 5, 1612; below, 184 n. For Κελτὸν ... Ἄρηα cf. *Il.* 2, 440 ὀξὺν Ἄρηα, 5, 30 θοῦρον Ἄρηα, etc. Ἄρηα is found mainly in this *sedes*, see *LfgrE s.v.*

174. ὀψίγονοι Τιτῆνες: contrasts with Hes. *Th.* 424 Τιτῆσι μέτα προτέροισι θεοῖσιν (cf. 486 θεῶν προτέρων) and Antim. fr. 45 Wyss γηγενέας τε θεοὺς προτερηγενέας [τε] Τιτῆνες. See G. Capovilla, *Helikon* 8 (1968), 129f.; McLennan, *Zeus*, 94.

It is generally supposed that Call. is confusing Titans and Giants here, for the following reasons: (i) The Giants seem more apt to be compared to the Gauls than the Titans by virtue of their number, their brutish nature, and by their being real θεομάχοι: see West, *Theog.* 220; R. Hampe, *GGA* 215 (1963), 129. (ii) In Hellenistic works of art, the struggle of a monarch against barbarous tribes is more than once compared to the Gigantomachy: see M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York 1955), 114ff.; M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge 1975), 529ff. (iii) The Scholiast on E. *Hc.* 472 expressly states that Call. confuses Giants and Titans: see A. Giannini, *Dioniso* 37 (1963), 56 with n. 38 (the reference, however, being to fr. 119, 2, where there seems to be no confusion at all: see Pfeiffer's note). (iv) In Hellenistic Greek and Latin poetry the confusion is a widespread phenomenon: see F. Vian, *o.c.* (142f. note), *l.c.*; Dörig-Gigon, *o.c.* (142f. note), 12, 66f.; V. Buchheit, *H* 94 (1966), 94 n. 3; West, *Theog.*, 337f.

Yet the comparison with the Titans proper is certainly as satisfactory, since they fought against the Olympian gods, as the Gauls fought against Apollo and the 'god' Philadelphus: cf. the explanation of the Scholiast Τιτῆνες· διὰ τὸ ἐπιχείρημα. Though their number is given by Hesiod as only twelve (*Th.* 133f.), this does not imply at all that the 'Titans of a later day' (Mair) must be a small group as well. The choice of the Τιτῆνες may have been influenced also by the wish for word-play, since one of the Gauls' characteristics was

their whiteness, due to their use of gypsum (τίτανος) which they worked through their hair, cf. Diod. 5, 28, and see S. Reinach, *RÉA* 13 (1911), 41 n. 2. The comparison of the Gauls with snowflakes may be due to the same phenomenon; see below, 175 n.

Already in Homer, ὀψίγονος was used to denote later generations, cf. *Il.* 3, 353; 7, 87. In later poetry, the sense is generally 'late-born', see Richardson on *h.Dem.* 165.

ἀφ' ἑσπέρου ἐσχατόωντος: cf. Hdt. 4, 49 ἐκ Κελτῶν, οἳ ἔσχατοι πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων μετὰ Κύνητας οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ (cf. 2, 33).

Ἕσπερος = 'evening' or 'evening star' in Homer, but ἑσπέριος = 'western' in *Od.* 8, 29. In Tragedy and later poetry, ἕσπερος is generally an adjective, cf. A. *Pr.* 350, S. *Ai.* 805.

Ἐσχατόωντος is a true Homerism, cf. *Il.* 10, 206* ἐσχατόωντα, 2, 508* ἐσχατόωσαν, 616* ἐσχατόωσα, and further only in Hellenistic poetry (Theoc., Arat.).

175. ῥώσωνται: 'rush on', cf. *Il.* 11, 50 and 16, 166 ῥώοντ'. I am not convinced that this correction by Lascaris of ῥώσονται of the MSS, though in conformity with the rule (see Chantr. I, 454, and above, 7 n.), is quite necessary, since Call. may here be imitating forms like δυσωρήσονται (*Il.* 10, 183), ὁρμήσονται (*Il.* 8, 511) and σεύονται (*Il.* 11, 415), which occur in some of our MSS of Homer, and hence will have been known to Call. as well. Pfeiffer (*Proleg.* LXXXIX) suggests that the correct reading might possibly be ῥώωνται, since in 179 ἀμφιπεριστείνωνται is a present subjunctive, too. If, however, the content of 177 a+b is such as he conjectured in his *apparatus*, ἀμφιπεριστείνωνται belongs to the indirect question *quantum* ... *angustentur*, and is therefore not on the same syntactical level as ῥώσωνται. In that case a *present* subjunctive is unnecessary.

νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότες: cf. *Il.* 3, 222 ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν ἐοικότα, and, for the application of the image to an army, *Il.* 19, 357 ὡς δ' ὅτε ταρφειαὶ νιφάδες Διὸς ἐκποτέονται, etc. (The comparison elsewhere refers to a shower of stones, cf. *Il.* 12, 166 and 278.) Call. thus seems to combine the terminology of *Il.* 3, 222 with the setting of 19, 357 into a new comparison. Its choice may have been influenced by the proverbial 'whiteness' of the Gauls (see above, 174 n.) or by the fact that in the checking of the Gaulish attack on Delphi a hail- or snowstorm was a decisive factor, cf. Paus. 10, 23, 3, Iust. 24, 8, 10, and see Flacelière, *Aitoliens*, 99; Tarn, *AG* 155 n. 62.

For ἐοικότες cf. *Il.* 2, 337*, 5, 522*, *Od.* 10, 120*, etc. (always in this *sedes*). For two comparisons joined with ἤ cf. *Il.* 2, 800 φύλλοισιν ἐοικότες ἢ ψαμάθοισι.

E. S. McCartney, *CP* 55 (1960), 85 presents an interesting list of instances in literature where an uncountable number is compared to snowflakes.

ἰσάριθμοι / τείρεσιν: cf. Pl. *Ti.* 41 d ψυχὰς ἰσαρίθμους τοῖς ἄστροις, possibly from a common source. The adjective is found also in *Lg.* 845 a, Arist. *EN* 1156 a 7, and in later poetry and prose. On the quantity of ἰσ- (cf. 1. 38 ἴση) see *Introd.*, ch. 4.3.2 (7).

176. τείρεσιν: instead of Homeric τεράεσσι (*Il.* 4, 398, etc.), probably modelled (by Call. himself?) by analogy with κῶας ~ κώεσι (*Od.* 3, 38; 20, 142). See Chantr. I, 210; Schwyzer I, 242 and 515.

In *Il.* 18, 485 f., τείρεα are constellations (τὰ τείρεα πάντα, τά τ' οὐρανὸς ἐστεφάνωται), but since the main point of the comparison in Call. is frequency (cf. 176 πλεῖστα), 'stars' would be more suitable, since in Antiquity only some 45 constellations were counted (see Mair's Introduction to Aratus' *Phaenomena*, Loeb-edition, 198 ff.). Only ἥνικα is somewhat surprising then, for stars *always* 'flock most thickly in the sky' (as Mair translates). Howald-Staiger cunningly get round this problem by translating '(Gestirnen), wenn sie weiden des Nachts in Fülle auf Fluren des Himmels', but of 'des Nachts' there is not a trace in the Greek text, as e.g. in Cat. 7, 7 *aut quam sidera multa, cum tacet nox.* That is probably the reason, why according to *LSJ* the reference is to meteors ranging through the sky, but that is hardly compatible with the idea of quiet wandering suggested by βουκολέονται. On the other hand, the ἥνικα clause is better accounted for if a meteorshower is meant. (For τέρας = 'meteor' cf. *Il.* 4, 75 f.). We must not exclude the possibility, I think, that Call. here intentionally presents an obscure comparison, as another characteristic of oracular style.

For stars as a symbol of an uncountable number in poetry see McCartney, *art. cit.*, 83 f., quoting instances from Sophocles to Wordsworth.

κατ' ἠέρα: cf. *Od.* 6, 102* κατ' οὔρεα, 7, 199 κατ' οὐρανοῦ. For ἠέρα in this *sedes* cf. *Il.* 5, 776; 8, 50; 20, 446, *Od.* 13, 352 and *h.Cer.* 383. Hellenistic poets use ἀήρ and αἰθήρ indifferently: see H. Erbse, *H* 81 (1953), 179; Pfeiffer, *Kallimachosstudien*, 13 n.

βουκολέονται: cf. *Il.* 20, 221* (ἵπποι) ἕλος κάτα βουκολέοντο, 5, 313* βουκολέοντι, Theoc. 7, 92* ἀν' ὤρεα βουκολέοντα (on which see Giangrande, *AC* 67, 1968, 509 f.).

177 a+b. Schneider already saw the connection between the mutilation of 177 f. and that of 200 f., these lines having been written apparently at the top or the bottom on either side of a manuscript-page with 23 or 24 lines (as appears from *P.Oxy.* 2225, the latter number is right: see Pfeiffer, *Proleg.* LXXXIV). The mutilation, however, is not due to a damage in Ψ, as A. Dain maintains (*REG* 68, 1955, VIII f.), since Ψ offered 30 lines a page (see P. Maas, *Kleine Schriften*, München 1973, 86 ff.), but in the archetype's source or even farther back.

It is especially annoying that *P.Oxy.* 2225 also is mutilated here: however,

it has furnished us with two new data, viz. (i) the lacuna in our MSS comprises two lines, not one, and (ii) the subject of ἀμφιπεριστείνωνται, ἴδωσι and ἀπαυγάζοιντο is probably παῖδ[ες, and not Τιτῆνες, which as a subject was hard to explain in the time before the publication of *P.Oxy.*

For a reconstruction of the lines' content see Pfeiffer's *apparatus*. His supposition, however, that παῖδ[ες probably refers to the Delphian boys partaking in the *Daphnephoria* (cf. frs. 86 and 194, 34) can hardly be right, because that procession took place in summer 278, between the so-called *S(t)epterion* and the Pythian Games, whereas the Gauls' attack on Delphi was in "late autumn 279 or early spring 278, for at the time there was snow at Delphi" (F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* I, Oxford 1957, 50). See my "The Boys and the Barbarians," *Mnem.* s. IV, 32 (1979), 119 ff.

178. For the construction of the line cf. *Il.* 12, 283 καὶ πεδία λωτοῦντα καὶ ἀνδρῶν πίονα ἔργα, 20, 9 καὶ πηγὰς ποταμῶν καὶ πίσεα ποιήεντα, etc. See Fehling, *Wiederholungsfig.*, 309 f.

πεδία Κρισσαῖα: cf. Hecat. fr. 125 Nenci Κρισαῖον πεδίον, S. *El.* 730 Κρισαῖον ... πέδον: see further above, 138 n. For the plural cf. *Il.* 12, 283 quoted above, A. *Pr.* 793 Γοργόνεια πεδία Κισθήνης, S. *Ai.* 863 τὰ Τρωϊκὰ πεδία. The Crisaean plain lies south of Amphissa, cf. Hdt. 8, 32 ἐς Ἄμφισσαν πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κρισαίου πεδίου οἰκεομένην.

Ἡφαίστοιο φάραγγες: the name of Hephaestus, as supplied by Lobel, is not very apt, as Pfeiffer admits. The only connection of the god with Delphi seems to be found in A. *Eu.* 11 ff., where the Athenians are called κελευθοποιοὶ παῖδες Ἡφαίστου, because they constructed a road to Delphi; but it is rather improbable that some glens in the neighbourhood could have been called after the god because of this fact.

As Pfeiffer states, one rather expects the name of a mountain or river. Meineke proposed καὶ ἡ Πλειστοῖο χαράδρη, which after the publication of *P.Oxy.* 2225 was changed by J. Bousquet, *REG* 86 (1973), IX, into καὶ αἱ Πλειστοῖο φάραγγες. But Πλειστοῖο occurs already in 1.92 (same *sedes*), and we rather expect Call. to vary. Barber's Ὑλαίθοιο, suggested in *CR* n.s. 4 (1954), 230, really is too obscure. I suggest καὶ Ἀμφίσσοιο φάραγγες, cf. Hdt. 8, 32 quoted above. Amphissos, son of Apollo and Dryope, is evidently the eponymous hero of Amphissa (see *KlP*, *s.v.*), and the glens could no doubt have been named after him. See the Appendix of my "The Boys and the Barbarians," *art. cit.*, 126 f.

Φάραγγες is not epic, but found in Alcman, Tragedy, and Attic prose.

179. ἀμφιπεριστείνωνται: 'are crowded on all sides': an impressive word, filling the first colon completely (cf. *Il.* 21, 492 ἐντροπαλιζομένην), coined perhaps by the poet himself in imitation of inflated oracular style. The

compound is not known from elsewhere: στείνομαι occurs in *Il.* 14, 34, *Od.* 9, 219, etc., and for other compounds with ἀμφιπερι- cf. *Il.* 8, 348 (-στρωφάω), *Od.* 8, 175 (-στέφομαι), *h.Ven.* 271 (-φθινύθω).

The MSS have -στείνονται, which can be kept if Pfeiffer's suggestion is right that it occurs in a dependant interrogative clause ('*quantum* πεδία Κρισσαῖα καὶ ... φάραγγες *angustentur*'), since such clauses generally take the indicative: see Schwyzer II, 311 f.; Barber, *art. cit.*, *l.c.*

179 f. ἴδωσι δὲ πίονα καπνόν / γείτονος αἰθομένοιο: cf. *Il.* 21, 522 f. ὡς δ' ὅτε καπνὸς ἰὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἵκηται / ἄστεος αἰθομένοιο, *Od.* 10, 152 ἐπεὶ ἴδον αἴθοπα καπνόν. In the past, πίονα καπνόν was generally thought to refer to the smoke rising from the altars at Delphi (cf. Pi. *I.* 4, 66 κνισάεντι καπνῷ): see A.-J. Reinach, *REA* 13 (1911), 33 ff.; Cahen, *Comm.*, 191. Now that it is probable that the παῖδες of l. 177a, who almost certainly are Greeks, are the subject of ἴδωσι, the 'burning neighbour' is better taken to refer to the city of Kallion or Kallipolis, which was ransacked and set on fire by a special force of the Gaulish army: see above, 177 ff. note. In that case, πίονα carries the idea of plentiness, as in Mair's translation 'rich smoke'.

For πίονα καπνόν cf. *Od.* 12, 346*, *h.Ap.* 52* πίονα νηόν, *Il.* 22, 501* πίονα δημόν, *Od.* 14, 329*, Hes. *Th.* 477 πίονα δῆμον. For αἰθομένοιο cf. *Il.* 6, 182; 8, 563, *Od.* 11, 220, etc.

180. καὶ οὐκέτι μοῦνον ἀκούῃ etc.: 'and no longer (know) by hearsay alone, but already discern the ranks of the enemies near the sanctuary ...'. The ellipse of the verb is remarkable, and contributes to the obscurity of the *vaticinium*. For οὐκέτι ... ἀλλ' ... cf. *Il.* 5, 379 f. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν φύλοπις αἰνή, / ἀλλ' ἤδη Δαναοί γε καὶ ἀθανάτοισι μάχονται.

The verse-end is the usual *sedes* for ἀκουή(ν) in epic, cf. *Il.* 16, 634*, *Od.* 2, 308*, etc.: see McLennan, *Zeus*, 65. For ἀκούῃ cf. S. *Ph.* 1412, E. *IT* 811, Hdt. 4, 16, etc.: see Schwyzer II, 167.

181. παρὰ νηόν: for παρά + accusative with verbs of rest cf. *Od.* 21, 434 πὰρ θρόνον ἑστήκει, and see further Chantr. II, 122.

ἀπαυγάζοιντο: 125 n. The sudden transition from subjunctive to optative is another feature of oracular style according to Danielsson, *art. cit.* (1 n.), 97 f. It may, however, be a common instance of Homer-imitation as well, cf. *Od.* 4, 692 ἄλλον κ' ἐχθαίρῃσι βροτῶν, ἄλλον κε φιλοίη (see D. Tabachowitz, *Homerische εἰ-Sätze*, Lund 1951, 50 f.); for another instance in Call. see *Aet.* fr. 1, 33. The reverse, viz. the change from optative to subjunctive, is more frequent in epic, cf. *Il.* 3, 53 f.; 14, 163 ff.; 24, 586 and 653.

φάλαγγας: nearly always at the end of the verse in hexameter-poetry, cf. *Il.* 3, 77*, Hes. *Th.* 676*, 935*, Mimn. fr. 14, 3*, etc. For φάλαγγας δυσμενέων cf. Tyrt. fr. 12, 21 αἶψα δὲ δυσμενέων ἀνδρῶν ἔτρεψε φάλαγγας. For the

enjambement cf. *Il.* 19, 158 f. φάλαγγες / ἀνδρῶν, 11, 567 f. φάλαγγας / Τρώων ἱπποδάμων.

Ψ has φάλαγγες, which was accepted by Ernesti, taking ἀπαυγάζοιντο passively. Bentley and Reiske, supposing the subjects of ἴδωσι and ἀπαυγάζοιντο rather to be identical, already proposed φάλαγγας, which was luckily confirmed by *P.Oxy.* 2225.

182. δυσμενέων: *Il.* 19, 62*, *Od.* 2, 72*, *h.Hom.* 8, 17*, etc.

ἤδη δὲ παρὰ τριπόδεσσιν ἐμεῖο: 'yes, even besides my tripods', the anaphora stressing the climax. Note, however, the case-variation with παρά (here + dative), for which cf. *Il.* 1, 485 f., 5, 92 f., Pi. *I.* 7, 8 f.; see Schneider *ad loc.* Though outside the sanctuary, too, tripods were set up as votive offerings (see R. Jebb, *Bacchylides*, Cambridge 1905, 452 ff.), the climax proves that the tripods within the temple must be meant here: see Gow, *Theoc.*, 157. On the question of whether the Gauls actually did or did not pillage the sanctuary see Flacelière, *Aitoliens*, 100 f.; Nachtergael, *o.c.* (171 ff. note) 93 ff., especially 99.

For possessive ἐμεῖο see above, 97 n.

183. φάσγανα: *Od.* 22, 74*, *al.*; poetic word. For a description of Gaulish armour and weapons see M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* II (Paris 1950), 511 f.; P. Bieńkowski, *Die Darstellungen der Gallier in der hellenistischen Kunst* (Wien 1908), *passim*; Fraser, *PA* II, 154 and 927.

ζωστῆρας: as a part of the Gaulish armour mentioned also in Diod. 22, 3 f. and Paus. 10, 18, 7. The plural accusative is not found in Homer, but cf. *Il.* 4, 215* ζωστῆρα, 4, 135* ζωστῆρος, *Od.* 14, 72* ζωστῆρι, etc.

ἀναιδέας: not necessarily a qualification of the wearers of the belts, as Kuiper states, since Homer uses the adjective to characterize things as well, cf. *Il.* 4, 521 λᾶας ἀναιδής, 13, 139 ἀναιδέος ἔχματα πέτρης ('reckless, ruthless', *LSJ*). The application of the epithet to belts, however, is remarkable, as they are not aggressive objects like stones.

183 f. ἐχθομένας τε / ἀσπίδας: the huge oval Gaulish shield, with a conspicuous ridge running the length of it and a central boss, evidently made a great impression on the Greeks, both on the mainland and in Egypt, witness the following: (i) They were hung as trophies on the frieze of the Delphic sanctuary, cf. Paus. 10, 19, 3 (with Hitzig-Bluemner's note), and the Coan decree *Syll.*³ 398, 8 ff. (τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν ... ἐπικεκοσμῆσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων ὅπλοις). See F. Courby, *Fouilles de Delphes* II, 1, 19 fig. 18; Flacelière, *Aitoliens*, 108 with n. 5. (ii) In Alexandria, they adorned the Pharos (and hence became a conventional element in representations of lighthouses in Roman art: see Fraser, *PA* II, 46), as well as the festal tent used during the Ptolemaieia described by Callixeinus, quoted by Athen. *Deipn.* 5, 196 f. See F. Studniczka, "Das Symposion Ptolemaios II.", *SbLeipz.* 30

(1915), 90 f. (iii) They were represented under the feet of images of Aetolia (cf. Paus. 10, 18, 7; Flacelière, *Ait.*, 108), of Apollo (see J. Marcadé, *Au Musée de Délos*, Paris 1969, 182 ff.), and of Bes (see Ch. Picard, *Genava* 5, 1927, 52 ff.; Nachtergael, *o.c.*, 190). (iv) They were represented on coins of Philadelphus: see *Cat. Brit. Mus.*, 'Ptolemies', Table 3, 8; 4, 2-6; H. Voegtli, *Gaz. Num. Suisse* 23 (1973), 86 f.; H. W. Ritter, *id.* 25 (1975), 2 f. (Though it is hard to believe that these coins were minted already before the affair with the Gaulish mercenaries, the evidence seems conclusive: see Fraser, *PA* II, 284 f.)

Callimachus' epithet ἐχθομένας must be viewed in this light: it effectively pictures the horror that arose out of the Gauls's revolt. See below, 185 f.

For representations of battle-scenes with Gauls on relief-vases from Delphi, inspired probably by Alexandrian originals, see F. Courby, *Les vases grecs à reliefs*, (Paris 1922), 443 ff.; Nachtergael, *o.c.*, 107 ff.

τε: for a postpositive at the verse-end see *Introd.*, ch. 4.4.5.

184. ἀσπίδας: *Il.* 5, 453* = 12, 426*, 14, 428*, Tyrt. 19, 5*. The technical term for the Gaulish shields is θυρεοί (cf. Paus. 10, 23, 8, *al.*; Nachtergael, *o.c.*, 188 f.), but θῡρεούς is unmetrical.

Γαλάτῃσι: 173 n. The name is attested first in a dedication of a shield to Zeus Eleutherios, 279 B.C., mentioned by Pausanias (10, 21, 5): see Nachtergael, *o.c.*, 14 n.

κακὴν ὁδὸν ... στήσονται: again a rather obscure expression. Mair translates: 'which shall cause an evil journey.' But how could shields have such an effect? According to S. Reinach, *Journ. intern. arch. numism.* 13 (1911), 238 n. 1, the shields by their weight impeded the soldiers in their flight, giving inadequate protection at that. In the same vein Wilamowitz speaks about 'die "verhassten Schilde", die ihren Trägern "den üblen Weg bereiten"' (*HD* II, 71). On the other hand there is Howald-Staiger's translation 'die gehassten Schilde, die Pfade des Schreckens bezeichnen der Kelten vermessnem Volke', and that of Cahen: 'les boucliers ... qui ... marqueront la route d'un destin cruel' (Budé-ed.), explaining in his note (*Comm.* 191): 'Les boucliers fixeront, jalonneront l'infortune des Galates.' Indeed, if this sentence refers to the situation afterwards both at Delphi and in Egypt, as it probably does, the only possible explanation is that the shields will bear evidence of the bad outcome of the barbarians' actions. It is clear, however, that this can be gathered only from the context, and not from the vague στήσονται. Wilful obscurity, or corrupt text? Cf., however, the equally strange use of ἀνίστημι above, l. 173.

For κακὴν ὁδόν cf. *Od.* 3, 288 στυγερὴν ὁδόν, 14, 269 φύζαν ... κακήν, E. *Ion* 930 κακὰς ὁδούς, 1226 ἀθλίαν ὁδόν, Pi. *O.* 7, 90 ἐχθρὰν ὁδόν, etc.

ἄφρονι φύλῳ: cf. *Od.* 21, 105* = *h.Ven.* 286* ἄφρονι θυμῷ. To explain the epithet, one could refer to Hes. *Op.* 210 ἄφρων δ' ὅς κ' ἐθέλῃ πρὸς

κρείσσονας ἀντιφερίζειν. In *P.Hamb.Inv.* 381 = *Suppl. Hell.* fr. 958, which probably contains a reference to the revolt of the Gaulish mercenaries (l. 14), people who resist the king (possibly Philadelphus) are called ὑβρισταί τε καὶ ἄφρονες (l. 9).

For φῦλον = 'tribe' cf. *Il.* 2, 840 φῦλα Πελασγῶν, A. *Pr.* 808 κελαινὸν φῦλον (of the Aethiopians), E. *IT* 887 βάρβαρα φύλα, etc. For the apposition Schneider compared *Il.* 19, 30f. ἄγρια φῦλα, / μυίας, αἵ .... For the hyperbaton cf. *Il.* 11, 370 Τυδεΐδῃ ἔπι τόξα τιταίνετο, ποιμένι λαῶν, and also 16, 2.

185. τέων: explained by commentators in various ways: (i) = demonstrative τῶν (Hermann), cf. *Il.* 18, 595 τῶν δ' αἱ μὲν ..., οἱ δὲ .... In this *vaticinium* full of stylistic peculiarities the asyndeton is less surprising. (ii) = relative τῶν (Schneider, Cahen), with the Ionic plural genitive ending, a variant of τάων (*Il.* 8, 156). In the light of an experiment like νησάων in l. 66 this seems perfectly possible. (iii) = τίνων, used *pro relativo*, as also in fr. 2a 67 (dub.) and 75, 60: see Pfeiffer's *Index vocab. s.v.* τίς; Wilamowitz, *HD* II, 71 n. 2 (τέων = τινων). The Scholiast likewise explains τέων = ὥντινων.

ἐμοὶ γέρας: cf. *Il.* 1, 118 ἐμοὶ γέρας, 120* μοι γέρας, *Od.* 11, 175* ἐμὸν γέρας.

Gaulish shields were hung on the frieze of the Delphic sanctuary to commemorate the victory (see above, 183 f. note), alongside the golden shields hung by the Athenians after the Persian Wars, cf. Aesch. 3, 116; Hitzig-Bluemner on Paus. 10, 19, 4 (p. 739).

αἱ μὲν ... αἱ δέ: cf. *Il.* 2, 90; 12, 288, *Od.* 7, 104 f., etc.

185 ff. Philadelphus had listed some 4000 Gauls as mercenaries with a view to an expedition against king Magas of Cyrene, who was preparing an attack on Alexandria. But they were found conspiring against Ptolemy, and had to be destroyed. See M. Launey, *o.c.* (183 n.), 197 f.; Will I, 125 f.; Nachtergael, *o.c.* (171 ff. note), 170 f.

The lines are much debated, since l. 186 is open to at least two different explanations and the version of Call. as supplied by the Scholiast shows a discrepancy with Paus. 1, 7, 2, which is the other source for the event.

Since κείσονται ἀέθλια in l. 187 suggests that the Gaulish shields were taken by Philadelphus as trophies, they must—at least partly—have remained undamaged: hence ἐν πυρί in l. 186 rather refers to the Gauls. The most natural connection then is ἐν πυρὶ τοὺς φορέοντας ἀποπνεύσαντας, the construction being an accusative and participle dependent on ἰδοῦσαι: 'after having seen their wearers breathe out their last in the fire' (Fraser, *PA* I, 660). The fire would have been the instrument, then, by which Ptolemy destroyed the mercenaries: cf. the Scholiast *ad loc.*: ἀπάγει (*sc.* Philadelphus) πρὸς τὸ

στόμιον τοῦ Νείλου τὸ λεγόμενον Σεβεννυτικόν καὶ κατέκαυσεν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖσε.

In view, however, of the unusual idiom of Apollo's prophetic speech a less natural explanation seems possible as well: 'and others, seeing their wearers in fire after they had breathed out their last, will lie there ...'. This explanation is possibly more in accordance with Pausanias' version, in which it is said that Philadelphus had led the Gauls to some deserted island in the Nile, where they perished ὑπό τε ἀλλήλων καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ. Here no fire at all is mentioned, but S. Reinach, *art. cit.* (179f. note), 45, suggests that the Gauls may partly have burnt themselves, in the way described in Tac. *Ann.* 3, 46 with regard to Sacrovir and his men. Another possibility is that the fire mentioned in *Delos* refers to the funeral pyre erected no doubt later by the Greeks to burn the murdered and starved Gauls; but this is less probable, since Call. in this passage is presenting high drama, and a funeral pyre is certainly a less interesting item than a fire which actually annihilates a whole body of troops. On the other hand, if the whole island were set on fire, how could the shields, which were probably made of osiers (see Flacelière, *Aitoliens*, 108 n. 5) have remained intact?

The obscurity here, it must be stressed, is this time of course not a stylistic device, but mainly due to our imperfect knowledge of the real facts: for the Alexandrian audience, these lines can hardly have been problematic.

186. ἐν πυρί: *Il.* 2, 340*, 24, 38*, *al.*

ἀποπνεύσαντας: in other literature the verb is always accompanied by θυμόν, ψυχήν, or the like, cf. *Il.* 4, 524; 13, 654, Tyrt. fr. 10, 24, Simon. 553, 2, Pi. *N.* 1, 47, etc. It is omitted also in Batrach. 99, probably imitating Call.; cf. also fr. 591.

Schneider understood ἀποπνεύσαντας to mean that the Gauls were drowned in the river first and subsequently burned; cf. Lascaris' reading κατέκλυσεν in the Scholia instead of κατέκαυσεν. S. Naber, *Mnem.* 34 (1906), 235f., however objected, that (θυμὸν) ἀποπνεῖν never points to drowning in Greek, and that the shields would have been lost, then, since the Gauls would have jumped in the river fully armed.

ἰδοῦσαι: *Od.* 6, 199*, cf. 3, 438*, 7, 234*, etc. For the participle-construction depending on it cf. *Od.* 8, 526 ἡ μὲν τὸν θνῄσκοντα καὶ ἀσπαίροντ' ἐσιδοῦσα.

187. κείσονται: probably as in *Il.* 22, 163 τὸ δὲ μέγα κεῖται ἄεθλον, cf. 22, 273, Hes. fr. 76, 5, Hdt. 8, 26, Thuc. 2, 46, etc.; or as in Call. *Ep.* 62, 2, where κεῖται = ἀνάκειται, cf. Schneider, 303: '*pro* ἀνατεθειμέναι ἔσονται.'

It is not known what was actually done to the shields of the Gauls after their extermination. Reinach, *art. cit.* (179f. note), 47, supposed that they would have been placed on some 'monument commémoratif' erected for the

occasion. According to Cahen and Naber, they were probably hung on some temple in Egypt, like the shields that adorned the Pharos and the festal tent erected for the Ptolemaieia: see above, 183 f. note. 'Επὶ Νείλῳ is not much of a help, being rather vague: it might as well point to the location of the shields during the fire as to their place on a temple-wall afterwards.

βασιλῆος: the common title for the Macedonian ruler (see Fraser, *PA* II, 368), but in the epic form, cf. *Il.* 1, 340*, 4, 402*, *Od.* 7, 46*, etc.

ἀέθλια: *LSJ* should not list this instance under the heading *contest*, since that is something shields cannot possibly be. It must mean 'prizes' here, βασιλῆος ἀέθλια forming the counterpart of ἐμοὶ γέρας in l. 187.

'Αέθλια is always found in this *sedes* in early epic, see *LfgrE s.v.*

πολλὰ καμόντος: 153 n. That πολλά does not go with ἀέθλια is made clear also by the preceding diaeresis, cf. *Il.* 18, 285 σὺ μὲν οὐκέτ' ἐμοὶ φίλα // ταῦτ' ἀγορεύεις, discussed by T. D. Seymour, *HSCP* 3 (1892), 118.

188. ἐσσόμενε Πτολεμαῖε: to taste the humour of these words, the reader should imagine them to be spoken during a festal gathering in the Museum, with Philadelphus himself present: see *Introd.*, ch. 2.1.9 f.

μαντήια Φοίβου: cf. E. *Andr.* 926 Φοίβου ... μαντεῖον, *Ion* 66 μαντήια 'Απόλλωνος. The MSS reading φαίνω makes sense too, though nowhere in Greek does it seem to have been used in connexion with an oracle.

189. αἰνήσεις, etc.: since there seems to have been no official encouragement of the Apollo-cult in Egypt on the part of the Ptolemies (see Fraser, *PA* I, 196), these words may be taken to refer rather to Philadelphus' care for the Museum, the Muses and Apollo as protectors of the arts being inseparable: see above, 5 ff.; W. F. Otto, *Die Musen und der göttliche Ursprung des Singens und Sagens* (Darmstadt ^{3}1971), 54.

μέγα δή τι: 60 n.—Μέγα seems not to be found elsewhere with αἰνέω, but it stresses τιμάω in A. *Ch.* 255, S. *OR* 1202, etc.: see M. Bissinger, *Das Adjektiv ΜΕΓΑC in der griechischen Dichtung*, Münch. Stud. Sprachwiss. II (1966), 256.

τὸν εἰσέτι γαστέρι μάντιν: 'the prophet still in the belly', cf. l. 86 ἔτ' 'Απόλλων ὑποκόλπιος (see above). The phrase suggests that Callimachus' idea of an oracle-uttering uterine Apollo was inspired by the existence of the so-called ἐγγαστρίμυθοι, who were thought to have a second voice inside, which predicted the future, a certain Eurycles being the first one known to us by name, cf. Pl. *Sph.* 252c with Schol., Ar. *Ve.* 1019 f. with Starkie's note, S. fr. 59 Pearson, Philoch. 328 FGH 78 with Jacoby's note, Plut. *def. or.* 414e, 9, and see J. Tambornino, *RGVV* 7 (1909), 3, 59 f.; E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley-Los Angeles ^{4}1964), 71 f.; Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 156 f. Also in later times such persons are mentioned: see O. Weinreich, *Arch. Rel. wiss.*

13 (1910), 622 f. (= *Ausgew. Schr.* I, 1969, 33 f.), discussing Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, 4, 58.

εἰσέτι: Hellenistic formation, cf. [Theoc.] 27, 19, Mosch. 2, 19; 3, 53, etc. Homer has ἐξέτι (*Il.* 9, 106, *Od.* 8, 245), προσέτι being found in Ionian and Attic prose. See Schwyzer I, 619 n. 3; Bornmann, *Dian.*, 40.

γαστέρι: locative, as in *Il.* 6, 58 f. μηδ' ὅν τινα γαστέρι μήτηρ / κοῦρον ἐόντα φέροι. See Chantr. II, 78 f., giving further instances of this dative with parts of the body (ὤμῳ, κεφαλῇ, etc.).

μάντιν: regularly used for Apollo in Tragedy, cf. A. *Ch.* 559, *Eu.* 169, E. *Ion* 387, *IT* 711, etc.

190. ὕστερον: 172 n.

ἤματα πάντα: *Il.* 13, 826*, 16, 499*, *Od.* 8, 468*, *h.Merc.* 170*, Hes. *Th.* 401*, etc.; it is far more frequent, however, at the verse-end. The sudden breaking off of the oracle half-way through the line is remarkable.

σὺ δὲ ξυμβάλλεο, μῆτερ: 'but do you pay heed, mother': a combination of σὺ δὲ σύνθεο (*Il.* 1, 76, *Od.* 15, 27) with σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῇσι (*Il.* 1, 297; 4, 39, cf. *Od.* 12, 217 f.). Call. omits θυμός, φρήν and the like when remoulding Homeric expressions, see above, 186 n.

191. ἔστι διειδομένη τις ἐν ὕδατι νῆσος ἀραιή: cf. *Od.* 4, 844 ff. ἔστι δέ τις νῆσος μέσσῃ ἁλὶ πετρήεσσα, / μεσσηγὺς ... / Ἀστερίς (!), οὐ μεγάλη, 354 f. νῆσος ἔπειτά τις ἔστι πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ, / Αἰγύπτου προπάροιθε— Φάρον δέ ἑ κικλήσκουσι (!), and also 7, 244; 19, 171 f., A. *Pe.* 447 f.; J. Vahlen, *Opuscula Academica* II (Leipzig 1908), 183.

διειδομένη: 'visible, clearly seen', cf. above, 1.43 ναῦται ἐπεσκέψαντο. It is probably not from διεῖδον (*Index* Pf.), εἰδόμην not being passive, but from δι(α)είδομαι. For εἴδομαι 'appear' cf. *Il.* 8, 559 εἴδεται ἄστρα; for εἰδομένη ('like') cf. *Od.* 2, 268*, 401*, etc.

ἐν ὕδατι: 111 n. So Apollo in a sense will be born 'in the water' after all. — Meineke's ἐν οἴδματι is quite unnecessary: ὕδωρ is 'water of the sea' also in lines 22 and 46 above.

ἀραιή: 'slender, slim', generally said of parts of the body in Homer (cf. *Il.* 5, 425*, 18, 411*), in Hes. *Op.* 809 of ships, and thus not unapt to characterize Delos, being some three miles in length and nowhere over 0.8 mile wide. See Bruneau-Ducat, *Guide de Délos* (Paris [2]1966), 13.

192. πλαζομένη: cf. *Od.* 16, 64* πλαζόμενος, 3, 95 πλαζομένου, Tyrt. 10, 5 πλαζόμενον. Πλαζομένη πελάγεσσι echoes 1.36 ἄφετος πελάγεσσιν ἐπέπλεες.

πόδες δέ οἱ οὐκ ἐνὶ χώρῃ: 'and her feet are not fixed in the earth', as was the case only later, cf. 1.54 ποδῶν ἐνεθήκαο ῥίζας. *P.Oxy.*'s reading χ]ωρη has settled the long debate on the MSS reading οὐχ ἐνὶ χώρῳ, which had

been subject to several emendations, none of them very convincing. The meaning 'not on one and the same place' is really not fitting for Asteria's feet, since she is imagined floating or swimming around (cf. 1. 53 ἐπέπλεες, 193 ἐπινήχεται), and not walking over the bottom of the sea.

For ἐνὶ χώρῃ cf. *Il.* 17, 394*, 23, 349*, *Od.* 21, 366* and 23, 186*; see further Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 78, cf. *Su.* 976.

193. παλιρροίῃ: 'current', generally a prose-word (Hdt. 2, 28, etc.), found in poetry only in S. fr. 832 Pearson.

ἐπινήχεται: 21 n.

ἀνθέρικος ὥς: cf. *Il.* 13, 531 αἰγυπιὸς ὥς, *Od.* 6, 309 ἀθάνατος ὥς, etc.: see *Introd.*, ch. 4.3.2 (2).

'Ανθέρικος, properly 'ear of corn' like ἀνθέριξ, subsequently came to denote the stem of the asphodel because of the similarity of the inflorescence, and even the asphodel as a whole. See J. M. Verpoorten, "Les noms grecs et latins de l'asphodèle," *AC* 31 (1962), 111ff., esp. 118ff.; Gow, *Theoc.*, 12; K. Lembach, *Die Pflanzen bei Theokrit* (Heidelberg 1970), 32.

The comparison is formally justified by the long-stretched form of Delos: see above, 191 n. The stem of the asphodel, being hollow (cf. Thphr. *HP* 7, 13, 3), especially in dry conditions would have floated well. Call. may have been familiar with the phenomenon from his own experience, the *asphodelus microcarpus* being a common plant in North-Africa; in Antiquity, the name of Cyrene was derived from the African word for the asphodel, κύρα (cf. Pedan. Dioscur. II, 169 Wellmann).

Whether ἀνθέρικος occurs already in early epic (cf. *Il.* 20, 227 ≅ Hes. fr. 62, 1) cannot be made out: see *Introd.*, ch. 3.1.3 with note.

194. ἔνθα νότος, ἔνθ' εὖρος, ὅπῃ φορέῃσι θάλασσα: cf. *Od.* 5, 327 τὴν δ' ἐφόρει μέγα κῦμα κατὰ ῥόον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα (with φορέῃσιν in the next line in the same *sedes*, in a comparison with ἄκανθαι blown over the plain by the wind). For ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα cf. also *Il.* 2, 462, *Od.* 2, 213; Εὖρός τε Νότος τε is found in *Il.* 2, 145; 16, 765, etc. On the quantity of the last syllable of νότος see *Introd.*, ch. 4.3.2 (2).

ὅπῃ: the variation with ἔνθα is functional, since after the winds it introduces the current as a new element: cf. *Od.* 3, 300 Αἰγύπτῳ ἐπέλασσε φέρων ἄνεμός τε καὶ ὕδωρ.

The spelling ὅπη alongside ὅπῃ is attested in literature as well as in inscriptions: see Kühner-Blass I, 618; Schwyzer I, 550.

φορέῃσι: the only subjunctive with this ending in Callimachus' first four hymns, no doubt inspired by *Od.* 5, 328 (cf. 9, 10).

195. τῇ με φέροις: cf. 163* τῇ με τέκοις. Properly speaking, this phrase is the answer to Leto's question ὦ ἐμὸν ἄχθος, / ποῖ σε φέρω; in 1. 116f.

Wilamowitz on this point dryly remarks: "Der Prophet im Mutterleibe hätte wirklich früher den rechten Weg zeigen sollen." (*HD* II, 72). The same indifference to Leto's hardship is shown, by the way, by Zeus, whose intervention, too, could have shortened Leto's search (and so this hymn) considerably. But expatiation is an essential constituent element in the hymn: see *Introd.*, ch. 1.3.4.

For τῇ with a notion of movement cf. *Il.* 15, 46 τῇ ἴμεν, *Od.* 8, 556 ὄφρα σε τῇ πέμπωσι: therefore Barber's proposal (*CR* n.s. 4 (1954), 230) to read κεῖ (= ἐκεῖσε) here, the required sense being 'to that place', is unnecessary. Besides, κεῖ is attested only in Archilochus, not exactly the source Call. generally draws on: see *Introd.*, ch. 3.1.

ἐλεύσεαι: *Od.* 4, 390* = 424* = 10, 540*, 10, 267*, Thgn. 1333*. Cf. also the fragment of a poem by Aratus on the same subject, quoted by Strabo (10, 5, 3 = *Suppl. Hell.* fr. 109), in which Delos addresses Leto: ὦ Λητοῖ, σὺ μὲν ἤ με σιδηρείῃ Φολεγάνδρῳ / δειλῇ ἢ Γυάρῳ παρελεύσεαι αὐτίχ' ὁμοίην.

κείνην ... εἰς ἐθέλουσαν: for the word-order cf. *Od.* 6, 175 f. σὲ γὰρ κακὰ πολλὰ μογήσας / ἐς πρώτην ἱκόμην. According to Stanford, ἐς πρώτην there goes with σέ, but a tmesis is equally possible, of course (for the preverb following the verb see the instances in Chantr. II, 83). The same holds good for ἐλεύσεαι εἰς in *Delos*, tmesis in the hymn being rare, though (see below, 209 n., 234 n.).

Lascaris' emendation of the MSS reading εἰσεθέλουσαν imposes itself, since the willingness of Asteria, not that of Leto, is here at stake.

196. αἱ μὲν ... ἀπέτρεχον εἰν ἁλὶ νῆσοι: repeats with variation l. 158 αἱ δ' ... πασσυδίῃ φοβέοντο.

It seems best to connect αἱ ... εἰν ἁλὶ νῆσοι as a variant of εἰναλίαι νῆσοι, cf. above, l. 189 τὸν ... γαστέρι μάντιν. Kuiper refers to *Od.* 3, 293 αἰπειά τε εἰς ἅλα πέτρη, which he supposes Call. to have misunderstood: but one may rather think of expressions such as S. *Ant.* 392 ἡ ... παρ' ἐλπίδας χαρά, in which the prepositional adjunct virtually has the value of an adjective. See Schwyzer II, 416.

For ἀπέτρεχον see above, 45 n. The compound is not Homeric, but cf. *Il.* 23, 504* ἐπέτρεχον.

τόσσα λέγοντος: a quite unusual way to conclude direct speech: see *Introd.*, ch. 3.2.1.

197-214. Preparations for Apollo's birth on Delos.

While floating somewhere half-way between Euboea and Cos, Asteria suddenly discerns Leto in labour, immediately stops and offers herself to the goddess, paying no heed to Hera's threatenings. Immensely relieved, Leto sets foot on the island and leans against the palm-tree near the Inopus, urging her son to appear from her womb.

197. φιλόμολπε: also in Pi. *N.* 7, 9, said of Aegina. If Call. took the word hence, it is one of the very few words he derived from Lyric poetry: see *Introd.*, ch. 3.1.3.

The epithet subtly reminds the reader that the hymn's proper subject is not Apollo, but Delos, 'loving dance and song', cf. l. 4 εὔυμνοι. It also prepares for the description of the song and dance festivities on Delos in lines 300-324. See *Introd.*, ch. 1.3.2.

σὺ δ': after a vocative also in *Il.* 1, 282; 2, 802, *Od.* 3, 247; 6, 289, etc. See also above, 106 n.

Εὐβοίηθε κατῆεις: cf. *Il.* 4, 475 Ἴδηθεν κατιοῦσα, *Od.* 13, 267 f. κατιόντα / ἀγρόθεν. In early epic, in geographic names the suffix is always -θεν (cf. below, l. 290 Εὐβοίηθεν); but in ὄπιθε(ν), ἔνερθε(ν) and the like both forms occur indifferently. See above, 136 n.

Κατῆεις probably means 'you came back', viz. from a visit to Euboea, a reference to the route described in 46 ff. (from Chalcis via Sunium to the Cyclades). The form is not at all epic, but Attic: see P. Chantraine, *Morphologie historique du grec* (Paris 1947), 232; Schwyzer I, 674.

For the traditional place of Leto's 'embarkation' see below, 204 n.

198. Κυκλάδας: 3 n. In the description of the route in lines 46 ff., Chios and Samos were mentioned to represent the whole island-group.

ὀψομένη: *Il.* 14, 200*, 205*, 301*, 304*, of Hera pretending to visit Oceanus and Tethys.

περιηγέας: first in Emped. fr. 27, 4 *PPF* Diels; see Schmitt, *Nom.* 119 n. 9. *LSJ*'s explanation '*lying in a circle*, of the Cyclades lying round Delos', is properly speaking not right, since Delos was not lying in the centre yet. In *H.* 2, 59, the meaning is 'circular', said of the round lake on Delos (cf. below, l. 261), and that is meant here, too: the Cyclades geographically constitute a group with a circular shape. For another instance of such an etymological word-play in the Hymns cf. *H.* 2, 49 with Williams' note.

οὔτι παλαιόν: evidently '(you came back) not long ago', in view of the next line's 'for the seaweed of Euboea still clung to her.' The expression may have been coined by Call. himself on the basis of such phrases as πάλαι, οὔ τι νέον γε in *Il.* 9, 527, cf. *Od.* 3, 367 οὔ τι νέον γε, *Il.* 1, 416 οὔ τι μάλα δήν.

199. μετόπισθε: 71 n., 77 n. This is the usual *sedes* of the word in Homer, cf. *Il.* 10, 490*, 13, 71*, *Od.* 5, 147*, 9, 539*, etc.

Γεραίστιον: Geraestus is the name of a promontory and a harbour in the southernmost part of Euboea, mentioned first in *Od.* 3, 177: see F. Geyer, *Topographie und Geschichte der Insel Euboia* (Berlin 1903), 111 f. The adjective is found in E. *Or.* 991a and Ar. *Eq.* 561; see also Nilsson, *GF* 72 f.

εἵπετο: *Il.* 2, 675*, 4, 274*, 23, 133*; see above, 77 n.

φῦκος: Homeric *unicum* in *Il.* 9, 7, cf. 23, 693 φυκιόεντι. The image of

a floating island-nymph with tails of seaweed dragging behind is highly picturesque, not to say humorous, in the first place: yet there may also be a display of learning, since the sea near Geraestus was notoriously turbulent and seaweed is more apt to get loose in a rough sea, cf. *Il.* 9, 4ff.

200. ὡς δ' ἴδες, ὡς ἔστης: a very likely restoration of the text of *P.Oxy.* by Pfeiffer, cf. *Il.* 14, 294 ὡς δ' ἴδεν, ὥς μιν ἔρως ... ἀμφεκάλυψεν, 20, 424 ὡς εἶδ' ὡς ἀνεπᾶλτο, Hes. *Th.* 188ff., etc. See Chantr. II, 255; Page, *S.a.A.*, 22; Gow, *Theoc.*, 51 f., the latter reasonably arguing that the second ὡς should be written ὥς.

If Pfeiffer's text is right, καὶ is likely to follow ἔστης, in view of the connexion with l. 201 (for καὶ after a masculine caesura cf. l. 80).]ιδου[.]α can hardly be something else than]ιδου[σ]α, but ἰδοῦσα is unlikely, the notion 'see' being already expressed twice in the passage (cf. l. 200 ἴδες, 202 ὁρόωσα). Other participles, however, are possible: διδοῦσα, δείδουσα, etc., a spondaic line being possible only when καί makes a short syllable (pattern *dsdds*, see *Introd.*, ch. 4.1.2f.). If we suppose the text of *P.Oxy.* to be noι altogether correct (as is sometimes the case, see e.g. Pfeiffer's *apparatus* on the end of l. 159), also κατοικτ(ε)ίρουσα, a reading found in some of the MSS (see Schneider's *apparatus*), would be acceptable.

As to the content of the passage, this may be restored tentatively as follows: 'and no sooner had you seen her than you stopped, (and defying Hera's threats) you valiantly spoke, (since your heart was kindled by pity,) seeing the goddess oppressed by her pains.' Though the text of Ψ of the second half of l. 201 cannot be right (see Pfeiffer's *app.*), περικαίεο certainly makes good sense, as Mair's translation proves; for καίομαι expressing emotion see *LSJ s.v.* ἀνα-, περι- and ὑποκαίομαι.

201. θαρσαλέη: with verbs of speech, Homer has always θαρσαλέως, cf. *Od.* 1, 382; 18, 411; 20, 269, etc.

τάδ' ἔλεξας: unhomeric speech formula, see *Introd.*, ch. 3.2.1.

202. δαίμον': this is one out of the two instances of elision with a substantive in *Delos*: see *Introd.*, ch. 4.4.3. We must not quite rule out the possibility, I think, that Call. wrote δαῖμον, referring to Asteria, cf. *H.* 1, 44 with McLennan's note; 3, 86, 173; 5, 41, and fr. 384, 9*.

Ψ has τλῆμον', cf. τλήμονα in *Il.* 5, 670*, *h.Merc.* 296*. It is possibly a conjecture to fill a gap in Ψ's predecessor, due to damage to the top of the page. See above, 177a+b note.

ὑπ' ὠδίνεσσι: cf. fr. 524 Εἰνατίην ὁμόδελφυν ἐπ' ὠδίνεσσιν ἰδοῦσα, *H.* 3, 21 f. ὑπ' ὠδίνεσσι γυναῖκες / τειρόμεναι, Pi. *O.* 6, 43 ὑπ' ὠδίνεσσ' ἐραταῖς, *hy.* 1, fr. 33d,3f. ὠδί/νεσσι ... ἀγχιτόκοις (of Leto), *h.Ap.* 92 (Λητὼ) ὠδίνεσσι πέπαρτο, Theoc. 17, 61 βεβαρημένα ὠδίνεσσιν. See further above, 61 n.

For ὑπό with dative cf. *Il.* 13, 667 νούσῳ ὑπ' ἀργαλέῃ φθίσθαι, etc., see Chantr. II, 140; McLennan, *Zeus*, 59.

βαρυνομένην: 'oppressed', cf. Simon. 519 fr. 32, 4 βάρυνον ὠδῖνες, E. *IT* 1228 εἴ τις ... τόκοις βαρύνεται. Βαρύνω is used with some preference in the rest of the hymn, cf. lines 212, 244 and 307.

203. τοῦτό με ῥέξον ὅ τοι φίλον: cf. *Od.* 13, 145 ἔρξον ὅπως ἐθέλεις καί τοι φίλον ἔπλετο θυμῷ. Ῥέξον is possibly a subtle Callimachean blend of the Homeric imperatives ῥέξαι (*Il.* 2, 802) and ἔρξον (4, 37; 22, 185). For ῥέζω τίνα τι 'do something to one' cf. *Il.* 3, 354; 4, 32; 5, 373, etc. For ὅ τοι φίλον cf. *Il.* 1, 541 αἰεί τοι φίλον ἐστίν, *Od.* 7, 320 εἴ πού τοι φίλον ἐστίν.

203 f. ἀπειλάς / ὑμετέρας: Asteria is apparently well aware of the fact that Hera is Iris' principal, since she is directly addressing her; cf. Peneius' remark in 124 f. ἀλλά μοι Ἥρη / δαψιλὲς ἠπείλησεν, with note.

For ὑμέτερος referring to one person cf. *h.Merc.* 309 f. (Hermes to Apollo) οὐ γὰρ ἐγώγε / ὑμετέρας ἔκλεψα βόας, Sol. fr. 19, 1 σὺ μὲν ... / τήνδε πόλιν ναίοις καὶ γένος ὑμέτερον. In Homer, only ἡμέτερος sometimes refers to a singular subject, see Schwyzer II, 243; E. D. Floyd, *Glotta* 47 (1970), 116 ff., especially 122 n. 9. For the enjambement cf. *Od.* 4, 688 f. πατρῶν / ὑμετέρων, 7, 276 f. γαίῃ / ὑμετέρῃ.

204. ἐφύλαξα: for the use of the aorist to denote a sudden change in some person's attitude cf. *Il.* 22, 15 ἔβλαψας μ', ἑκάεργε, *Od.* 16, 181 ἀλλοῖός μοι, ξεῖνε, φάνης νέον, etc., see Chantr. II, 184. It is more frequent in Tragedy, see Jebb on S. *El.* 668; Schwyzer II, 282. For φυλάσσω 'pay heed to, observe' cf. *Il.* 16, 686 (with ἔπος), S. *Tr.* 616 (with νόμον), etc., ἀπειλή implying the idea of a command.

πέρα, πέρα: for the geminated imperative see above, 118 n. (cf. 150 f., 214). Here, however, there is variation in quantity too, for which there seems to be no parallel in Greek (but cf. Verg. *E.* 3, 79 *vălē*, *vălĕ*), though with nouns this is frequent: see above, 70-74 note.

For περάω as the specific term for crossing water cf. *Od.* 6, 272; 24, 118, S. *Ai.* 461, Pi. *N.* 3, 21, etc. Leto had just left Cos, while Asteria approaches from the direction of Euboea: they meet about half-way, on the spot where Delos lies now. In the other versions of the myth Leto 'embarks' at Cape Sunium, cf. Ael. Arist. *Panath.* 12, 157 D., Hyper. *Del.* fr. 67 Jensen, Paus. 1, 31, 1. For a representation of the 'embarkation scene' see *JbDaI* 5 (1890), 216 (mosaic from Portus Magnus in Algeria, based on Hyg. *fab.* 140).

205. ἔννεπες: unepic formula for concluding direct speech: see *Introd.*, ch. 3.2.1 (b).

ἀρητόν: probably 'prayed for, desired' ('*optatum*' C. Dilthey, *De Callimachi Cydippa*, Leipzig 1863, 11 n. 2), and so 'willingly, readily', cf. Mair's 'she

gladly ceased from her grievous wandering', and Fernandez-Galiano, 82: 'de bueno gana, con gusto'. For a verbal adjective used adverbially cf. *Il.* 17, 332 ἄσπετον. The adjective occurs twice in Homer (*Il.* 17, 37 = 24, 741, as acc. masc., not in the same *sedes*), generally interpreted as 'accursed' (see *LfgrE s.v.*), which is quite out of place here, also when qualifying λυγρῆς, whatever that may have been (? 'she ceased from her damned ⟨long / tedious / miserable⟩ wandering'). Schneider and Kuiper accept Lascaris' correction ἄρρητον = 'unspeakable', cf. *Od.* 14, 466, *Il.* 17, 37 (only some of the MSS), Hes. *Op.* 4, etc.: see *LfgrE s.v.* ἀρητόν. It can only be connected with the line's last word, as in Kranz' translation 'unsagbar leidvolle Irrfahrt'. The hyperbaton is rather harsh, but not impossible (see above, 86 n.); the qualification, however, is rather inapt at the very conclusion of the description of Leto's wanderings.

ἄλης ἀπεπαύσατο †λυγρῆς: cf. *Od.* 15, 342 ὅττι μ' ἔπαυσας ἄλης καὶ ὀιζύος αἰνῆς, 1, 340 ταύτης δ' ἀποπαύε' ἀοιδῆς / λυγρῆς, and above, l. 79 χοροῦ ἀπεπαύσατο νύμφη, 229 θοῆς ὅτε παύσεται ἄγρης.

Λυγρῆς, found also at the end of l. 210, was certainly not written in *P.Oxy.* 2225, being one letter too long. I suggest reading δηρῆς, being an unusual form of the common epic δηρός = 'too long', and from a palaeographical point of view not too difficult.

206. ἕζετο δ': *Il.* 2, 42*, 15, 150*, *Od.* 1, 437*, 2, 14*, *h.Cer.* 98*, etc.

Ἰνωποῖο παρὰ ῥόον: cf. *h.Ap.* 18 ὑπ' Ἰνωποῖο ῥεέθροις, in the same context. The Inopus was thought to communicate with the Nile, cf. *H.* 3, 171 Αἰγυπτίου Ἰνωποῖο with Bornmann's note, Lycophr. 575 f. Ἰνωποῦ πέλας, / Αἰγύπτιον Τρίτωνος ἕλκοντες ποτόν, Strab. 6, 2, 4, 272a οἱ τὸν Ἰνωπὸν εἰς Δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου περαιοῦντες. See Bruneau, *Recherches*, 17; P. Roussel, *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos*, Ann. de l'Est (1915-16), 287 n. 3; P. Gilbert, *Nouv. Clio* VII-IX (1955-57), 296. Though not attested before Hellenistic times, the connexion may have been made as early as the 7th century B.C., when Egyptian influence on Delos had grown considerably: see Gruppe, *Griech. Myth.*, 238 f.

For παρὰ ῥόον cf. above, 133* μέγαν ῥόον, 159* κατὰ ῥοόν. For the importance of the presence of a river at child-birth see above, 66 n., 123 n.

ὅν τε: one of the very few instances of epic τε in *Delos*, used here in a description of a yearly recurrent phenomenon, cf. *Il.* 2, 471, Hdt. 2, 108, 4, etc. See Ruijgh, *o.c.* (6 n.), 968 ("emploi digressif-permanent régulier"), and further above, 11 n. (dubious) and below, lines 229 and 246.

βάθιστον: the required sense is 'most abundantly', for which there is no proper parallel. For βαθύς in a quantitative sense cf. *Il.* 11, 306 (with λαῖλαψ), 21, 7 (with ἀήρ), S. *Ai.* 1200 (with κύλιξ), etc., and also the adjective βαθύρροος, *Il.* 7, 422, etc.

207. τότ' ..., ὅτε: cf. S. *El.* 1264 τότ' εἶδες, ὅτε (εὖτε Jebb). In Homer, the combination is found only in the reverse order, cf. *Il.* 10, 365, *Od.* 11, 294 ff., etc. See also above, 83 τότε ... ἡνίκα.

Callimachus' information on the Inopus is not correct, by the way: its flowing depended (and still depends) completely on rainfall, which on the Cyclades occurs from October till May, December-January being the period of the maximum precipitation. See Philippson, *Das Klima Griechenlands* (Bonn 1948), 94 ff.; Bürchner, *RE* IX, 1559; Bruneau-Ducat, *Guide de Délos* (Paris [2]1966), 14. On the other hand, the rise of the Nile started at the end of July, reaching its maximum height in the Delta in the first days of September: see D. Bonneau, *La crue du Nil* (Paris 1964), 22 f.

Anyhow, does Call. want to suggest here that Apollo was born sometime in August? It is tempting to suppose a connection with the Carneia then, which are expressly said to have been celebrated in Cyrene on the seventh of the month Carneius (= Metageitnion, August/September), just because Apollo was Ἑβδομαγενής, cf. Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 8, 1, 717 D; Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, 118.

ἐξανίησιν: cf. *Od.* 12, 105* ἀνίησιν, of Charybdis sending up water; in E. *Ba.* 207, the verb is used of a source. The compound ἐξανίημι is a Homeric *unicum* in *Il.* 18, 471, said of the air coming from the bellows in Hephaestus' forge.

πλήθοντι ῥεέθρῳ: cf. *Il.* 5, 87 ποταμῷ πλήθοντι, 16, 389 = *Od.* 19, 207 ποταμοὶ πλήθουσι ῥέοντες. In early epic only the plural occurs, cf. especially *h.Ap.* 18 ἐπ' Ἰνωποῖο ῥεέθροις (the verse-end being the common *sedes*); for the singular cf. A. *Pr.* 790, Pi. *O.* 9, 18, etc.

207 f. The similarity with Hdt. 2, 19 κατέρχεται ὁ Νεῖλος πληθύων would not be accidental.

208. κρημνοῖο: *Il.* 21, 175*, 200*, there denoting a steep river-bank. Elsewhere it is said of a cliff or crag, cf. Pi. *pae.* fr. 52 m 8 Κύ]νθιον παρὰ κρημνόν, while here it evidently refers to the whole Ethiopian plateau.

Callimachus' vague description gives us no clue as to his personal opinion about the Nile's origin. (For a survey of ancient theories on the matter see Bonneau, *o.c.*; *KlP* 4, 130 f.)

κατέρχεται: cf. Hdt. 2, 19 quoted above, Thuc. 4, 75, 2 κατελθόντος αἰφνιδίου τοῦ ῥεύματος, of a river suddenly swollen by rainfall.

Αἰθιοπῆος: instead of the regular accusative Αἰθίοπας (cf. *Od.* 1, 22 f., 4, 84), Homer once has Αἰθιοπῆας (*Il.* 1, 423*), probably *metri causa*: see *LfgrE*, 298. Hence in Hellenistic literature (or possibly earlier) a nominative Αἰθιοπεύς came in use, cf. A.R. 3, 1192, Theoc. 17, 87, and see Chantr., *Dict. Ét.* 33a; Schmitt, *Nom.* 52 n. 5.

209. λύσατο δὲ ζώνην: the middle has full force here, to describe Leto's own preparations for childbirth. (ζώνην λύειν is a masculine activity, cf. *Od.* 11, 245, *h.Ven.* 164, etc.). Cf. further Pi. *O.* 6, 39 ff. ἁ δὲ ... ζώναν καταθηκαμένα ... τίκτε. For ζώνην λῦσαι for childbirth cf. Hyperid. fr. 67, and see McLennan, *Zeus*, 52 f.

ἀπὸ δ' ἐκλίθη: one of the very few instances of tmesis in *Delos*, the others being found in lines 234 and 265 below; for other instances in Call. see Lapp, 47 ff. The above combination is not found in early epic, but comparable ones in the same *sedes* are *Il.* 5, 81* ἀπὸ δ' ἔξεσε, 13, 587* ἀπὸ δ' ἔπτατο, *Od.* 23, 331* ἀπὸ δ' ἔφθιθεν. Combined with ἔμπαλιν, it varies *Il.* 6, 467 ἂψ δ' ... ἐκλίνθη, *Od.* 19, 470 ἂψ δ' ... ἐκλίθη. In early epic, ἐκλίνθη is the regular form, ἐκλίθη being in use also in Tragedy, Pindar and prose.

ἔμπαλιν: found in *h.Merc.* 78, Hes. *Sc.* 145 and afterwards; not in Homer. Call. here deviates from the tradition described in *h.Ap.* and elsewhere (see below, 210 n.) that Leto embraced or touched the palmtree standing *in front of her*. G. W. Most, *o.c.* (58 n.), 195 f., attractively takes this to refer to a recent medical discovery of Herophilus (see above, 48 n.) that leaning back is the correct posture which prevents δυστοκία, for which Leto is the mythic paradigm *par excellence.*

ὤμοις: *Od.* 6, 235*, 8, 19*, 14, 528*, etc.

210. For a verse consisting solely of two prepositional adjuncts cf. *Il.* 2, 461 Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι, Καϋστρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα, and *h.Ap.* 280 (quoted by Williams on *H.* 2, 59).

φοίνικος ποτὶ πρέμνον: in describing Leto's attitude and entourage during childbirth ancient poets vary according to personal taste or, occasionally, political outlook. In the Homeric hymn to Apollo, Leto is described first leaning against Mt. Cynthus, quite near the palm-tree and the Inopus (vv. 17-18, cf. 26); in 117 f., we are informed that she puts her arms around the palm-tree, while kneeling in the soft meadow. In Theognis 6 ff., the goddess touches the palm-tree near the round lake with her hands. In later tradition other trees appear as well, viz. the laurel (probably under Delphic influence), and the olive-tree (no doubt an Athenian element: see R. Vallois, *BCH* 48, 1924, 437 f.; Bruneau, *Recherches*, 18). In Delian literature the following combinations are found: (i) Laurel + palm-tree: E. *Hc.* 458 ff., *Ion* 919 ff., Call. *H.* 2, 1 and 4 (? cf. Williams' note). (ii) Olive-tree only: Call. *ia.* 4, 83 f., 13, 62 (cf. *H.* 4, 262), Limen. *pae. Delph.* 6 Pow., Cat. 34, 5 ff. (iii) Olive-tree + palm-tree: Ael. *VH* 5, 4, Nonn. 36, 124 ff., Ov. *Met.* 6, 335 f. (iv) The three trees together: E. *IT* 1099 ff. (v) Two laurels: Serv. *Comm. Aen.* 3, 91. See W. Déonna, *BCH* 70 (1946), 154 ff.; H. Gallet de Santerre, *Délos primitive et archaïque* (= *DPA*) (Paris 1958), 193 ff.; Chr. le Roy, *BCH* Suppl. 1 (1973), 262 ff.; P. Brind'Amour, "L'origine des Jeux Séculaires," *ANRW* II, 16, 2 (1978), 1407.

For the palm-tree on vases, nearly always associated with Apollo and/or his cult see M. Claesen, *BIBR* 19 (1938), 83 ff. Both palm-tree and olive-tree are depicted on an Attic red-figured pyxis in Ferrara (inv. nr. 12451) from the second half of the 5th century B.C., on which Delos (!), Leto and Hermes are onlookers at a libation of Apollo and Artemis: see H. Gallet de Santerre, *BCH* 100 (1976), 291 ff., with literature. A torchbearing woman touching a palm-tree is depicted on two reliefs from the sanctuary of Eileithyia on Delos: see *Explor. de Délos* XI, figs. 254 f.; O. Rubensohn, *Arch. Anz.* (= *JbDAI*) 46 (1931), 383; R. Demangel, *BCH* 46 (1922), 88 f.

φοίνικος: *Od.* 6, 163*, Theogn. 6*. For the word-order (genitive + preposition + substantive) cf. *Il.* 2, 456 οὔρεος ἐν κορυφῇς, 24, 205 ἀνδρὸς ἐς ὀφθαλμούς, etc.

πρέμνον: first in *h.Merc.* 238.

ἀμηχανίης ὑπὸ λυγρῆς: cf. *Il.* 23, 86* ἀνδροκτασίης ὕπο λυγρῆς, Tyrt. 6, 2* ἀναγκαίης ὕπο λυγρῆς. 'Αμηχανίη is a Homeric *unicum* in *Od.* 9, 295; for its application to a woman in childbirth cf. E. *Hipp.* 163. For the word-order see the numerous instances in McLennan, *Zeus*, 80; see also Schwyzer II, 427.

Ancient grammarians did not agree on the accentuation of prepositions standing between a noun and its adjective: see McLennan, *o.c.*, *l.c.*; J. Vendryès, *Traité d'accentuation grecque* (Paris 1904), §§ 308 ff.

211. τειρομένη: 61 n. For the combination with ὑπό cf. *Il.* 8, 363, *Od.* 10, 78.

νότιος δὲ διὰ χροὸς ἔρρεεν ἱδρώς: cf. *Il.* 11, 811 f. κατὰ δὲ νότιος ῥέεν ἱδρὼς / ὤμων καὶ κεφαλῆς (≅ 23, 715), 23, 688 f. ἔρρεε δ' ἱδρὼς / πάντοθεν ἐκ μελέων (≅ 16, 109 f., *Od.* 11, 600), Mimn. 5, 1 = Thgn. 1017 κατὰ μὲν χροίην ῥέει ἄσπετος ἱδρώς, S. *Tr.* 767 ἱδρὼς ἀνῄει χρωτί, etc. But διὰ χροός comes from another context: cf. *Il.* 11, 398 ὀδύνη δὲ διὰ χροὸς ἦλθ' ἀλεγείνη.

212. εἶπε δ' ἀλυσθενέουσα: cf. *Il.* 19, 286* εἶπε δ' ἄρα κλαίουσα, Antim. fr. 70 Wyss εἶπε δὲ φωνήσας. The reverse order (εἶπε following the participle) is far more common: see *Introd.*, ch. 3.2.1.

ἀλυσθενέουσα: 'in her weakness', cf. *EM* 70, 45 ἀλυσθένειαν· ἀσθένειαν. Hesychius' ἀλυσθενεῖ· ἀσθενεῖ, quoted by Pfeiffer for support, seems less sure: Latte prefers Heringa's correction ἀλυσθαίνει, found also in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, *l.c.*, Nic. *Ther.* 427, Hp. *Morb.* 2, 54, etc. See further Chantr., *Dict. Ét.* 66 b.

The MSS reading ἀλυσθμαίνουσα is certainly as old as the Scholia, who explain it as = ἀσθμαίνουσα. With a view to ἀσθμαίνουσα said of Iris in l. 217, however, *P.Oxy.*'s ἀλυσθενέουσα is preferable.

κοῦρε: said of an unborn child also in *Il.* 6, 59; cf. above, 162 n. For the vocative cf. *h.Merc.* 490.

βαρύνεις: 202 n.

213. αὕτη τοι ... νῆσος: 'here is your island', cf. *Od.* 13, 349 τοῦτο δέ τοι σπέος, A. fr. 746 Mette Αἴγινα δ' αὕτη ... κεῖται. For οὗτος in connexion with the second person cf. further *Il.* 10, 82 Τίς δ' οὗτος ... ἔρχεαι, etc.: see Chantr. II, 169; Schwyzer II, 208.

φίλε: so, without further additions, also in *h.Merc.* 477, Thgn. 99, and Euen. fr. 9, 1 West. Elsewhere we always find ὦ φίλε (*Od.* 14, 115, Thgn. 1138, etc.) or φίλε τέκνον and the like (*Od.* 2, 363, *Il.* 15, 221, Thgn. 181, etc.).

ἐπιπλώουσα: here + dative, as with ἐπιπλέω in l. 36; in Homer, ἐπιπλώω always takes the accusative (πόντον). See Gow, *Theoc.*, 340.

214. γείνεο, γείνεο: the imperative of this verb is not likely to occur elsewhere, of course. Leto knows only too well that she is carrying quite a personality, who can handle his own birth.

For the *anadiplosis* see above, 150 n. According to *LSJ* and Pfeiffer, γείνεο is from *γείνομαι, of which no present form whatsoever is found. It seems preferable, therefore, to look upon it as the imperative of ἐγενόμην, with the stem prolonged *metri causa*: see W. Schulze, *Quaestiones epicae* (Gütersloh 1892), 182 ff.; Chantr., *Dict. Ét.* 221 b.

Note that the verse is hyporhythmic (see *LSJ s.v.* ὑπόρρυθμος): apart from κοῦρε, καί the feet everywhere correspond to the individual words. I agree with Mc Kay, *Erys.* 181 f., that this must be intentional, to illustrate Leto's gasping way of speech: the same effect may be intended in l. 226 below, in the speech of Iris. A comparable (though not hyporhythmic) instance in Latin is Ov. *Met.* 5, 618 f., where Arethusa, exhausted from her long flight to escape Alpheus, prays to Diana: '*fer opem, deprendimur,*' *inquam,* / '*armigerae, Diana, tuae,* ...'. Whether the coincidence of word-accent and verse-accent aims at a certain effect as well I am not able to decide: in *Od.* 1, 1 no effect seems to be intended anyway. See P. v. d. Mühll, "Der Rhythmus im antiken Vers," *44. Jb. Ver. schweiz. Gymn. Lehrer* (1916), 22 ff.

ἤπιος ἔξιθι κόλπου: probably 'gently issue from the womb' (Mair), and not 'be so kind as to issue from the womb', as in Howald-Staiger's translation 'Sei lieb und verlasse den Schoss nun!' The latter is attractive in so far that Leto seems not so much preoccupied by birthpains as anxious to be relieved of her burden at last; as a rendering of predicative ἤπιος, however, it is much too flat, cf. S. *Ph.* 738 (θεοὺς) σωτῆρας αὐτοὺς ἠπίους θ' ἡμῖν μολεῖν. It is possible that ἤπιος refers to the mild, healing aspect of Apollo, which the god shows from old (see Nilsson, *GGR* I, 540 ff.), as Mc Kay, *Erys.* 182 f., suggests. Given the situation, however, it is more probable to suppose influence of epiphany hymns and the like, in which the description of the way the god makes his appearance is customary: see E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1959), 204 n. 4 on *C.* 3, 18, 3 *lenis incedas.* Finally it should be noted that

ἤπιος is the characteristic epithet of Leto in Hes. *Th.* 407: the word could be meant then also as an illustration of the motif 'like mother, like son' (cf. above, l. 170 ὁ δ' εἴσεται ἤθεα πατρός). See Reinsch-Werner, *Call. hes.* 385 f.

κόλπου: 'womb', as in *H.* 1, 15 (plur.: see McLennan's note), E. *Hl.* 1145 (plur.), and perhaps Pi. *O.* 6, 31 (plur.); cf. also the adjective ὑποκόλπιος above, l. 86.

215-248. Iris, her threats having failed in the end, runs to Hera and reports Asteria's offence. Thereupon she sets herself at the goddess' feet, like a sporting dog, ready to take immediate action at the appeal of her mistress. Hera then vents her spleen about all Zeus' mistresses, but refrains from further action out of reverence for Asteria, since that goddess had once rejected Zeus as a lover.

At a crucial stage, the tale of the birth-preparations is suddenly broken off, even without the traditional ὣς φάτο formula (as in *Od.* 12, 374: see *Introd.*, ch. 3.2.3). The reader, familiar with the story of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, expects Hera now to make an ultimate effort to delay Apollo's birth. Iris' provocative speech only confirms him in his expectations, but his patience is being taxed by the elaborate simile of Iris as a sporting-dog of Artemis, 'these eleven lines of frustrating interlude', as Mc Kay aptly characterizes them (*Erys.* 163). Hereafter Hera really blazes out, to end only with an anticlimax: for after a while she resigns herself and refrains from further action. The reader's possible disappointment, however, is made good by the surprise of Hera's motive. It is only now that he understands why in lines 37 f. Asteria's escape from Zeus was mentioned: acting like that, the island had gained Hera's sympathy, so as to be the only place in the world left where Apollo could be born undisturbed.

215. νύμφα: said of a married woman in *Il.* 3, 130, *Od.* 4, 743*, E. *Andr.* 140, *Md.* 150, etc. *LSJ* claim that the use of the word can be explained through the disparity in age of the interlocutors, which in the case of Iris and Helen, however, does not hold. It is far more likely to suppose that Helen, Hera and Penelope are addressed by νύμφα to stress their merely *juridical* position as the respective wives of Menelaus, Zeus and Odysseus, in contrast to the actual situation.

For the curious vocative on -α see Bornmann, *Dian.*, 38; Chantr. I, 200; Schwyzer I, 558.

βαρύθυμε: possibly from E. *Md.* 176 βαρύθυμον ὀργάν. Compounds with βαρυ- in a figurative sense are typical of Tragedy in general, see Schmitt, *Nom.* 99 n. 35; Thesleff, *Intensif.*, 186. The epithet recalls l. 106, where Hera's ἀνηλεὲς ἦτορ was mentioned, and can only refer to the goddess' anger here, whereas in *H.* 6, 81 there may be a play on the two meanings of 'angry' and 'dejected': see Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 96 f.

σὺ δ': 197 n.

215f. οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλες ἄπυστος / δὴν ἔμεναι: cf. *Od.* 4, 675f. οὐδ' ἄρα Πηνελόπεια πολὺν χρόνον ἦεν ἄπυστος / μύθων, 5, 127f. οὐδὲ δὴν ἦεν ἄπυστος / Ζεύς.

For the elision of ἄρ' at position $7^1/_2$ see *Introd.*, ch. 4.4.3. In Homer, οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλον / -λες etc. is generally found at the verse-end (see *LfgrE s.v.* ἄρα), with the meaning 'it was not my / your etc. destiny to ...'. Here we should interpret 'it was not likely that you should remain ignorant for long ...', as in *Od.* 9, 475 and 13, 293.

216. τοίη σε προσέδραμεν ἀγγελιῶτις: cf. above, 1.27 τοῖός σε βοηθόος ἀμφιβέβηκεν, with note.

προσέδραμεν: the compound is a prose-word, found in poetry only in Ar. *Av.* 759. Elsewhere the verb takes a dative or πρός + accusative: here a plain accusative is used, as in Homer with προσβαίνειν (cf. *Il.* 2, 48) and προσστείχειν (cf. *Od.* 20, 73).

ἀγγελιῶτις: cf. *h.Merc.* 296* ἀγγελιώτην (the nominative in Call. fr. 260, 6*), on which it is modelled, possibly by Call. himself, since he shows a certain preference for such *feminina*. See Schmitt, *Nom.* 26 n. 52, 48; McLennan, *Zeus*, 106.

217. εἶπε δ' ἔτ' ἀσθμαίνουσα: 212 n.; for ἀσθμαίνουσα 81 n. (same *sedes*). *P.Oxy.* has εἶπε δ' ἄρ', which is not an epic formula, but cf. *Od.* 2, 58 κλαῖε δ' ἄρ', etc.

For the construction of the line, consisting of a speech formula plus a form or phrase indicating the tone of the speech (viz. φόβῳ δ' ἀνεμίσγετο μῦθος) see G. M. Bolling, *CP* 17 (1922), 213f.: none of the instances cited by him, however, has an analogous framework. The closest parallel is Hes. *Th.* 163 εἶπε δὲ θαρσύνουσα, φίλον τετιημένη ἦτορ.

φόβῳ δ' ἀνεμίσγετο μῦθος: 'and her speech was mingled with fear' (Mair), cf. Call. fr. 24, 3 γέλως ἀνεμίσγετο λύπῃ, Thgn. 961 ὕδωρ δ' ἀναμίσγεται ὕδει, Sol. 13, 13 (πλοῦτος) ἀναμίσγεται ἄτηι. For (ἀνα)μίσγεσθαι 'to be affected with' no satisfactory parallel seems to exist, *pace LSJ*, quoting Pi. *N.* 1, 56.

For μῦθος in an introductory speech formula cf. *Il.* 14, 189, *Od.* 4, 803, etc. For φόβος = 'fear' see above, 139 n.

Having failed in her mission, Iris has not a clear conscience, of course. To avoid Hera's wrath, she uses the familiar tricks: flattery towards Hera (218-221), stressing her own success with the other islands (223), and diversion of Hera's anger from herself to the real wrongdoer, Asteria (224ff., with marked anaphora). Formally her speech contains many features of Greek hymnal prayer, viz. invocation (Ἥρη), praising epithets (τιμήεσσα, προὔχουσα), stressing the divinity's powerful position (219ff., with characteristic anaphora), and prayer proper (226f.). See *Introd.*, ch. 2.2.

218. τιμήεσσα: *Od.* 18, 161, Mimn. 5, 5 (= Thgn. 1021). The epithet is applied to a god in *Od.* 18, 161 (Poseidon) and Pi. fr. 140 a, 64f. (Zeus), elsewhere to human beings and things.

πολὺ προὔχουσα θεάων: a variant of the Homeric formula δῖα θεάων (*Il.* 5, 381, etc.). There is a variant for Hera already in *Il.* 18, 364 (θεάων ... ἀρίστη). Inspiration would have come also from *Il.* 2, 702 πολὺ πρώτιστον 'Αχαίων, though no indication of rank is meant there.

In Homer, προέχω is generally 'hold before' or 'jut out, project'; it points to eminence in *h.Cer.* 151, the way it is used later in Hdt., Thuc., Soph., etc.

219. σὴ ... σὰ ... σύ: regular hymnal 'Du-Stil der Prädikation' with anaphora, already found in the 'unofficial' prayers in *Il.* 9, 96ff. and *Od.* 13, 228ff., and later in Archil. fr. 177, Pi. *N.* 3, 65, A. *Su.* 370, etc. See Norden, *Agn. Theos*, 157ff.; Fehling, *Wiederholungsfig.*, 205. McLennan might have noted this on *H.* 1, 46ff.

σὴ μὲν ἐγώ: cf. *Od.* 9, 529 σός εἰμι, *h.Ap.* 324f. σὴ κεκλημένη ... / ἦα; it points to submission in S. *Ant.* 635 πάτερ, σός εἰμι, *OC* 1323 ἐγὼ δὲ σός, E. *El.* 227 πάντως δ' εἰμὶ σή, etc.

κρείουσα: *Il.* 22, 48*, Hes. fr. 26, 7 and 31 a, not referring to a goddess; but κρείων is the title of Zeus in *Il.* 8, 31 *al.* and of Poseidon in 8, 208 *al.*

κάθησαι: that Hera is in fact seated on her throne on Mt. Olympus appears from l. 228, where Iris is said to take her place ὑπὸ χρύσειον ἑδέθλιον. For κάθημαι as a sign of royal dignity cf. *Od.* 16, 264, E. *Tr.* 884, Ar. *Nub.* 270, etc.: see G. Kittel, in: *Theol. Wörterb. z. neuen Test.* (Stuttgart 1938), 444f.

220. γνησίη: Kuiper 162, duly followed by Kranz, strangely refers the epithet to Hera's legal birth, being Zeus' κασιγνήτη. Though this is in accordance with the Homeric usage of γνήσιος as the opposite of νόθος (cf. *Il.* 11, 102, *Od.* 14, 202), here evidently Hera's position as Zeus' legal spouse (cf. above, l. 215 νύμφα Διός) and so as the legal queen is at stake, in contrast to the illegality of Leto and the other Ζηνὸς ὀνείδεα (l. 240); γνήσιος is so used in X. *Cyr.* 4, 3, 1.

Οὐλύμποιο: *Il.* 1, 44*, 2, 167*, *Od.* 1, 102*, Hes. *Th.* 633*, fr. 30, 15*, etc. The genitive can be locative (see Chantr. II, 58), or objective, dependent on κρείουσα, as in l. 5 ἀοιδάων μεδέοντα.

χέρα: 77 n. For the hand as a symbol of avenging power cf. *Il.* 1, 89; 4, 249, etc.

221. θηλυτέρην: a necessary restriction, in some respect preparing for l. 259, where Hera appears to submit to Zeus' power.

σὺ δ': for the elision at Meyer's Bridge see *Introd.*, ch. 4.4.3.

ἄνασσα: regular title of goddesses, though never found with Hera in early epic: see *LfgrE*, 793.

τὸν αἴτιον εἴσεαι ὀργῆς: cf. *Il.* 21, 292 (= *Od.* 2, 40) σὺ δὲ εἴσεαι αὐτός. The future should not be ignored, as is done by Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 162 ('you know who deserves your anger') and Howald-Staiger ('Du weisst, wer dein Zürnen verschuldet'). At the moment Hera is still ἄπυστος, but from Iris' fearful tone and submissiveness she is bound to understand soon that something has gone wrong. Therefore Iris, seeing the Queen of Heaven lose her temper, subsequently tries to deflect her anger towards Asteria: 'you will presently learn who really causes your anger.' The masculine τὸν αἴτιον may be intended to illustrate Iris' effort still to conceal the truth from Hera: but αἰτίην is in any case unmetrical.

222. At least, after four lines of compliments, Iris in one self-contained line blurts out part of the truth: 'Leto has found a refuge on an island.' The very name of Asteria, however, will still not pass her lips.

τοι: there is little to choose between this being a particle ('well, you must know then ...; see Denn.², 537) or a personal pronoun (for the dative of the person harmed see Chantr. II, 73; Schwyzer II, 150 f.)

μίτρην ἀναλύεται: cf. above, l. 209 λύσατο δὲ ζώνην, and below, l. 237* ζώνην ἀναλύεται. For μίτρα = 'woman's girdle' cf. Hes. fr. 1, 4 μίτρας τ' ἀλλύσαντο, and see Brandenburg, *o.c.* (166 n.), 9 n. 1. In l. 166 above, μίτρα = διάδημα.

ἔνδοθι νήσου: cf. *h.Ap.* 92 θεαὶ δ' ἔσαν ἔνδοθι πᾶσαι (*sc.* on Delos), Hes. fr. 205, 4* ἐπηράτου ἔνδοθι νήσου (of Aegina).

223. ἄλλαι μὲν πᾶσαι: cf. *Il.* 5, 877 ἄλλοι μὲν γὰρ πάντες, 1, 22 ἔνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες.

μιν ἀπέστυγον οὐδ' ἐδέχοντο: cf. above, l. 154 αἱ δ' οὔ μιν ἐπερχομένην ἐδέχοντο. According to Kuiper, ἀπέστυγον here = 'they feared' (cf. *h.Ap.* 47 αἱ δὲ μάλ' ἐτρόμεον καὶ ἐδείδισαν), the way στυγέω is used in *Il.* 15, 183 according to Aristarchus. This critic's ideas, however, written down some fifty years or more after the composition of *Delos*, can have had little influence on Callimachus' thoughts on the meaning of certain Homeric words (see above, 134 n.). Moreover, the islands might have feared Iris or Hera, but not Leto, to whom μιν here refers: they only fled from Leto because of Iris' threats. Iris here understandably uses rather strong language: 'they loathed Leto'.

In Homer, only (κατα-)στυγέω is found, ἀποστυγέω being Tragic, cf. S. *OC* 186, E. *Ion* 488, etc.

224. ὀνομαστί: prose-word, found in poetry only in Crit. fr. 6, 3 West, Arat. 374, and Call. fr. 43, 79. For the combination with καλέω cf. Thuc. 7, 70, 8 ἀνακαλοῦντες ὀνομαστί. The epic equivalent is ἐξονομακλήδην (*Il.* 22, 415, etc.).

παρερχομένην: *Od.* 16, 357, of a passing ship. In Call., too, the scene is set at sea.

225. Ἀστερίη: Iris scornfully repeats the name of the culprit, adding some unpleasant remarks about her. For the *epanalepsis* cf. *Il.* 2, 671 ff. (but without any emotional charge there), *Od.* 1, 22 f. (*id.*), etc., and see Arist. *Rhet.* 1414 a 3; Demetr. *Eloc.* 61; Fehling, *Wiederholungsfig.*, 184; Lapp, 54, 61.

σάρον: 'broom' according to the Scholiast (τὸ κάλλυντρον), which is in some respect consistent with the idea of Asteria as described in 197 ff., where she appears sweeping the sea with streamers of sea-weed trailing behind her. On the other hand, κακόν suggests a term of abuse, and therefore Schmitt (*Nom.* 12 n. 8) follows all modern editors in supposing the meaning to be 'scum', cf. Sophron fr. 160 Kaibel, Ion Trag. fr. 9 N. (*coni.*).

οἶσθα καὶ αὐτή: *Il.* 15, 93*, cf. *Od.* 10, 457* οἶδα καὶ αὐτή, *h.Merc.* 382* = Hes. *Sc.* 355* οἶσθα καὶ αὐτός, etc., but always followed by a dependent clause in the next line, except in *Il.* 24, 105 οἶδα καὶ αὐτός.

Interpretations vary: 'Now you know all' (Cahen), 'now you know the culprit' (Howald-Staiger), or 'Thou knowest it (*sc.* Asteria's wickedness) thyself' (Mair). Since καὶ αὐτή obviously refers to previous knowledge of Hera, the last one is best, though I would rather translate: '*you* know her'.

226 f. In the MSS, the text runs as follows:

ἀλλά, φίλη, δύνασαι γάρ, ἀμύνειν, πότνια, δούλοις
ὑμετέροις, οἳ σεῖο πέδον πατέουσιν ἐφετμῇ.

These lines are translated by Mair as follows: 'But, dear Lady,—for thou canst—defend thy servants, who tread the earth at thy behest.' If 'defend' is replaced by 'succour' (cf. *Il.* 6, 262, E. *HF* 219, Ar. *Eq.* 790, etc., and Cahen's translation 'prends la cause de tes serviteurs'), these lines make quite satisfactory sense. Iris has failed to keep Asteria in check, and now begs Hera to take over, since she is a more powerful goddess, Iris herself being only the messenger—a role she immediately takes up again after having delivered her speech.

For φίλη as an independent vocative cf. *Od.* 8, 292* δεῦρο, φίλη, and above, 213 n. For δύνασαι γάρ cf. *Od.* 5, 25, and also 4, 612 δύναμαι γάρ and 237 δύναται γάρ, *Il.* 16, 515 δύνασαι δὲ σύ, etc. See Williams, *Apollo*, 37; Norden, *Agn. Theos.*, 154. On parenthesis in general see above, 47 n.

Ἀμύνειν occurs five times in the Iliad in this *sedes* (6, 493; 9, 435; 13, 312, 814; 21, 231), but never with the function of an imperative. For ἀλλά + imperatival infinitive cf. *Il.* 1, 582; 17, 691 f.; 20, 335, etc., see Schwyzer II, 381; Denn.^{2}, 14. Call. has the *infinitivus pro imperativo* also in *H.* 6, 129, *Ep.* 10, 3; 53, 3, *al.*, see Lapp, 133.

Δούλοις refers to Ares and Iris, who execute Hera's commands (cf. above, 61 ff.), and πέδον to the earth (in contrast to heaven, which is Hera's watching territory), cf. above, 62 πέδον ἠπείροιο. For πατέω 'tread on' cf. Theoc. 18, 20 γαῖαν πατεῖ (with Gow's note), and above, 1.74 ἀτραπίτους ἐπάτησεν. It must be admitted, however, that in the context 'tread on the earth' is rather

weak: we rather expect a verb like φυλάττω. Σεῖο (above, 119 n.) goes with ἐφετμῇ, the anticipated position lending it extra stress: 'you must succour, for it is by *your* orders that we act.'

Metricists have taken offence at ἀμύνειν, since it violates Naeke's Law, which is strictly obeyed in all other Callimachean hexameters. Hence P. Maas (*Textkritik*, Leipzig ^{4}1960, 18) thought it necessary to read ἀμύνεο, without proper cause, for (i) in Callimachus' otherwise rather strictly built hexameters isolated 'offences' are admitted from time to time, as e.g. the violation of Hilberg's Law in l. 113: see further *Introd.*, ch. 4.2.2 and 4.3 *passim*. (ii) According to Maas, the fact that Homer has ἀμύνειν five times in the same *sedes* would not prove anything for Call., but it does: also elsewhere Homeric examples account for exceptions in Call., as in l. 193 ἀνθέρικὸς ὥς (cf. *Il.* 13, 531 αἰγυπιὸς ὥς), and in l. 71 φεῦγεν δ' ὁ γέρων (cf. *Il.* 11, 637). See Wilamowitz, *HD* II, 64 n. 2, and again *Introd.*, ch. 4.2 and 4.3 *passim*. (iii) The construction of l. 226 is most remarkable, the phrase being split up by the parenthesis and the two vocatives, and so consisting of six rather loose elements (cf. above, 214 n.). In such an exceptional line, the 'violation' of a metrical law is certainly less surprising.

However, with the help of Croenert, Maas went further along the same course, since the change of ἀμύνειν into ἀμύνεο involved a change in meaning also (ἀμύνομαι = 'avenge oneself, punish'). The result was the text as printed by Pfeiffer, which was supported by G. Pasquali (*Gnomon* 5, 1929, 425), E. Harrison (*CR* 43, 1929, 43, proposing minor additional changes), Howald-Staiger, Mc Kay (*Erys.* 162), and L. P. E. Parker (*Lustrum* 15, 1970, 75: "The brilliant combination of conjectures by Maas and Croenert ..."). Mc Kay's translation may serve to represent the interpretation of them all: 'Come, dear mistress—for you have the power—punish your servants, who utterly trample upon your command.' This is at first sight attractive from a psychological point of view: Iris tries to make Hera concentrate her anger on Asteria, to keep herself out of harm's way. However, the interpretation is liable to several objections which are dealt with *in extenso* by G. Morelli, "Callimaco e la legge di Naeke," *RCCM* 6 (1964), 140ff. I select here the following: (i) It is quite out of the question that δούλους ὑμετέρους could refer to Asteria. The plural destroys the above-mentioned psychological effect, and Asteria is certainly the last person to be called Hera's *slave*, her freedom being her most essential characteristic (cf. l. 36ff., 191ff.). (ii) ἐφετμή is far better explained as referring to Hera's order given to her two servants Ares and Iris (cf. *Il.* 14, 249, Pi. fr. 169, 44): the countries, cities and islands did not get any order from Hera, they were only threatened by her servants (cf. l. 69 ἀπειλητῆρες, 125 ἠπείλησεν, 203 ἀπειλάς. (iii) For πέδον πατέω Maas refers to A. *Ag.* 1357 and *Ch.* 643, but the text there (in spite of Maas' optimism: see *Textkritik*, 20, *ad* 5) is still extremely doubtful (see Fränkel on *Ag.* 1357), and

no effective support can be derived from it. Besides, as appears from other instances in Tragedy, the expression is not πέδον πατέω but only πατέω, cf. S. *Ai.* 1335, *Ant.* 745. (iv) An instigation to revenge seems less apt in the mouth of the fearful and submissive Iris, while also φίλη goes better with a prayer for help than for punishment. That Hera does not in fact proceed to action is of course of no importance: there is still ample room for action at the moment, and the reader is quite prepared for it (see above, 215-248 n.).

The conclusion must be, I think, that we should rather keep the MSS text, which makes satisfactory sense, and bear with an understandable metric anomality. In doing so, we are in the good company of Herter (*RE* Suppl. XIII, 244) and Wilamowitz (*HD* II, 72 n. 1).

228. ἦ καί: 153 n.

ἑδέθλιον: first in Call.; here = θρόνος (cf. l. 232 ὑπὸ θρόνον), in fr. 12, 4 and *H.* 2, 62 = 'foundations', see Williams' note. It is a diminutive of ἕδεθλον, which Call. possibly took over from Antimachus (fr. 35 Wyss, but cf. A. *Ag.* 776). See Schmitt, *Nom.* 35 n. 18, 71 n. 1.

ἷζε: *Il.* 2, 53*, 18, 422*. The MSS of Call. have ἵζε, as it is written also in the *Venetus* A of Homer in *Il.* 2, 53, 792, etc. (see Chantr. I, 482). The spelling ἷζε was preferred by Aristarchus, but since his opinions cannot have influenced Callimachus (see above, 223 n.), and it is probable that Call. found ἵζε at least in some of the Homer MSS in the Alexandrian Library, there is no objection at all to keeping this reading in Call., too.

κύων ὥς: *Il.* 15, 579 (followed by ὅς τ', cf. below l. 229 ἥτις τε), Hippon. fr. 66 and 115, 11 ὡς κύων. For dogs in Homeric similes cf. *Il.* 8, 338; 22, 189, *Od.* 20, 14, and see S. Lilja, "Dogs in Ancient Greek Poetry," *Soc. Sc. Fenn., Comm. Hum. Lit.* 56 (Helsinki 1976), 25 f. For the postpositive at the end of the line see *Introd.*, ch. 4.4.5.

T. B. L. Webster, *Hellenistic Poetry and Art* (London 1964), 173 f., supposes that the comparison of Iris with a dog could have been suggested to Call. by the cult-image of Sarapis in the Alexandrian Serapeum, where the god was represented seated on a throne and caressing Cerberus who lies by his side (see also Fraser, *PA* I, 256). Representations of dogs in such a position on gravestones, vases, etc. are rather common, though: see E. Simon, *Die Griechischen Vasen* (München 1976), Pl. XIV and 29 (Amphora Louvre E 640); Wilam., *HD* II, 73 n. 1 (on the Meleager from the school of Scopas in the Vatican Museum); Roscher, *Lex. Myth.* II, 1, 356 (on the Amphora No. 3256 in Naples, with Iris at Hera's feet). For the Hellenistic type of the seated mastiff, represented 'in that breathless state of expectancy preceding violent action which we know so well in the dog' see G. M. A. Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture* (Oxford-London 1930), 33, and Figs. 158-175.

According to Wilamowitz (*HD* II, 73; cf. Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 162; Lilja, *o.c.*,

98), the source of inspiration is not of a pictorial, but of a literary character, κύων being a common metaphor to denote a messenger, especially in Tragedy, cf. A. *Pr.* 1022, S. *El.* 1388, etc.: see *LSJ s.v.* κύων III; Groeneboom on A. *Ag.* 607. For yet another possibility see next note.

229. Ἀρτέμιδος: with Pfeiffer's punctuation, approved of by Kuiper, Meineke and Wilamowitz, the name should be connected with ἴχνεσιν in l. 230, which without further qualification is supposed to be unclear. The remedy, however, seems worse than the disease, since it implies postponement of the relative (which is not impossible: cf. *H.* 1, 65; 5, 27, 138, etc.; Lapp, 50; Pfeiffer on fr. 6) as well as an extremely harsh (and in my view virtually impossible) hyperbaton. On the other hand, the comma after Ἀρτέμιδος causes no problem at all: (i) The picture of Iris seated at Hera's feet hardly leaves any doubt as to whose ἴχνεα are meant here. (ii) Enjambement with the depending genitive is common in *Delos*, cf. l. 48 f. μαστόν / Παρθενίης, 136 f. ἀκωκῇ / δούρατος, 181 f. φάλαγγας / δυσμενέων, 293 f. ἄριστοι / ἠιθέων; with Ἀρτέμιδος it is found in *H.* 1, 78. (iii) The addition of Ἀρτέμιδος immediately specifies the animal as a sporting-dog, which is an important factor in the whole picture. (iv) The lengthening of the final syllable of Ἀρτέμιδος is better accounted for before a stop, cf. above, l. 194 ἔνθα νότος (and perhaps l. 154 εἰναλίδας), Homeric prototypes being found in *Il.* 1, 153, *Od.* 10, 64: see *Introd.*, ch. 5.3 (b). (v) For punctuation at both position 3 and $5^1/_2$ cf. lines 132, 194, 200, 221 and 266. The latter view—so the comma not after 228 ὥς but after 229 Ἀρτέμιδος—is held by Cahen, Howald-Staiger, Mair (in his translation, not in the text) and Ruijgh, *o.c.* (6 n.), 968 f.

In *Delos*, where the fact of the birth of Artemis and even every allusion to her seems to be avoided entirely (see, however, 111 n.), the very mentioning of her name creates surprise. At l. 21 above, I suggested that the name of Aphrodite, having no connexion at all with the rest of the hymn, could possibly be a reference to Arsinoe Philadelphus, who was identified with that goddess during her lifetime. It is not unreasonable in that case to suppose that Call., in choosing a simile with Artemis' bitch, was inspired not so much by some representation in literature or the plastic arts as once more by some person of the Ptolemaic Court. In that case the reference could be to Philotera, Philadelphus' unmarried sister, who was associated with Artemis in cult officially at least once: see A. Rehm, *Didyma II, Die Inschriften* (Berlin 1958), 115 βασίλισσαν Φιλωτέραν βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μιλησίων Ἀρτέμιδι Πυθείῃ, with note on p. 122 ("für die jungfräuliche Prinzessin passte die Weihung ihres Standbildes an Artemis besonders gut ..."). Unfortunately we do not know of any preference of Philotera for dogs or hunting, her whole personality being rather obscure to us: see Fraser, *PA* II, 377; Macurdy, *o.c.* (123 n.), 108; R. Pfeiffer, *Kallimachosstudien*

(München 1922), 14ff. For the connexion between the mythological subjects as selected by Hellenistic poets and the preferences of the Ptolemaic Court see F. T. Griffiths, *Theocritus at Court* (Leiden 11979), 51ff. (= ch. 3: *The New Gods*).

ἥτις τε: first example of ὅστις + τε after Homer, where it is found only in *Il.* 23, 43 (Ζῆν', ὅς τίς τε θεῶν ὕπατος). See Ruijgh, *o.c.*, *l.c.* For ἥτις = ἥ see above, 156 n.

θοῆς: *Il.* 12, 306*, *Od.* 1, 260*, *h.Ap.* 494*, etc., but always followed by ἐπὶ / παρὰ νηός. It is found with dogs in E. *Ba.* 977; here it is characterizing the ıunt itself, cf. *A.P.* 6, 253 (Crinag.), 6 ταχινῆς ... ἐλαφοσσοῖης.

παύσεται: according to Pfeiffer (*Proleg.* LXXXIX), the choice between the future indicative and the aorist subjunctive is difficult here, but I fail to understand what could possibly be the sense of the future here. In a comparison, and after epic τε, the subjunctive is the obvious choice: 'Artemis' bitch who, whenever she has stopped hunting, settles herself down ...'. Instead of *Il.* 1, 518 (ὅτε ... ἐφήσεις), to which Pfeiffer refers, we should rather compare, with Cahen (*Comm.* 198), *Il.* 1, 180 κρείσσων γὰρ βασιλεὺς ὅτε χώσεται ἀνδρὶ χέρηι, where χώσεται no doubt is a subjunctive, too.

ἄγρης: in Homer, ἄγρη refers to the catching of fish or birds by means of nets, cf. *Od.* 12, 330f.; *LfgrE*, 96. Here ἄγρη = θήρη, as in E. *Su.* 885, etc.

230. θηρήτειρα: probably a Callimachean formation, modelled on the Homeric θηρητήρ, cf. *Il.* 15, 581 (in a comparison introduced by κύων ὥς in 1. 579) and 5, 51* θηρητῆρα. The suffix is used already in δμήτειρα (*Il.* 14, 249), cf. A. *Ag.* 356 κτεάτειρα, S. fr. 1040 δεσπότειρα, etc.; see Schwyzer I, 474. For further Callimachean innovations with the suffix see Schmitt, *Nom.* 27.

The epithet goes with κύων, of course: for the adjectival use cf. *Il.* 12, 170; 17, 726. Schneider's objection that the stressing of the bitch's hunting capacity is hardly functional in this line, where she is described as only sitting at rest, is not valid, since it is essential in the image that the bitch, even at rest, is constantly alert and 'in function', remaining every inch the huntress.

παρ' ἴχνεσιν: this was understood by Schneider, Cahen and Howald-Staiger to refer to the paws of the prey, which the bitch watches until her mistress again summons her for the chase. But ἴχνεα is certainly a most strange word to denote the prey, whereas the mentioning of Iris taking position under Hera's feet far more naturally suggests that by ἴχνεα Artemis' feet are meant, at which the bitch is sitting at rest for the moment. For ἴχνεα = 'feet' cf. Sol. fr. 11, 5, E. *Ba.* 1134, etc. See Williams, *Apollo*, 25; above, 19 n. and 117 n.

οὔατα δ' αὐτῆς: cf. *Il.* 11, 633 οὔατα δ' αὐτοῦ, but there of the ears of a δέπας.

231. ὀρθὰ μάλ’: cf. *Il.* 2, 10* *al.* πάντα μάλ’, 9, 148* *al.* πολλὰ μάλ’, 3, 381* ῥεῖα μάλ’, etc. For ὀρθός of ears cf. S. *El.* 27 ὀρθὸν οὖς ἵστησι. The line as a whole resembles Hes. *Th.* 419 ῥεῖα μάλ’, ᾧ πρόφρων γε θεὰ ὑποδέξεται εὐχάς.

αἰὲν ἑτοῖμα: cf. *Il.* 8, 361* αἰὲν ἀλιτρός, *Od.* 4, 108 αἰὲν ἄλαστον, 11, 575 αἰὲν ἀαγές, etc.

θεῆς: Call. has the Ionic θεή also in *H.* 1, 37; 3, 119; fr. 75, 6 *al.*: see Pfeiffer, *Proleg.* XC. In the *Leidensis* of the Homeric hymn to Demeter θεῆς is found twice (lines 183 and 279), probably an old reading, which Call. may have known of. Θεῆς or θεῇσι is rather common in early epic, though, see Chantr. I, 202; McLennan, *Zeus*, 61 f.

ὑποδέχθαι: ‘accept’, cf. *Il.* 7, 93, Hes. *Th.* 419, Hdt. 8, 106.

ὁμοκλήν: 158 n. Pfeiffer writes ὁμοκλήν here in view of l. 158 ὁμοκλῆς, whereas Ψ has ὁμοκλήν. However such a uniformity does not seem necessary in Call., see Reinsch-Werner, *Call. hes.* 244.

232. τῇ ἰκέλη: Hes. *Sc.* 198*, cf. *Il.* 11, 467* τῷ ἰκέλη, 18, 591* τῷ ἴκελον, 24, 758 τῷ ἴκελος. It is no doubt an anachronism to speak about the influence of the digamma to explain the hiatus, as Maas (*GM* 83) and McLennan (*Zeus*, 36 *al.*) do: see *Introd.*, ch. 4.3 n. 7 and 4.4.4.

Θαύμαντος ... κούρη: varies κόρη Θαύμαντος in l. 67 above. The two expressions almost encompass the whole episode in which Iris has a part to play. For this device see *Introd.*, ch. 1.3.3.

ὑπὸ θρόνον: *Od.* 22, 362*, and above, l. 228 ὑπὸ ... ἑδέθλιον.

ἵζετο: cf. above, l. 228 ἵζε (ἶζε). In Homer, too, ἵζω and ἵζομαι seem to be used without any apparent difference in meaning.

233. κείνη: referring to a person just mentioned (*i.e.* Iris), see above, 11 n.

οὐδέ ποτε ... οὐδ’ ὅτε: cf. *Il.* 3, 442 f. οὐ γάρ πώ ποτε ... οὐδ’ ὅτε, 14, 315 ff. οὐ γάρ πώ ποτε ... οὐδ’ ὁπότ’ ... οὐδ’ ὅτε ....

σφετέρης: referring to the 3rd person *singular*, as σφε in l. 15 above, and found like that also in Hes. *Sc.* 90 (see Russo’s note), Pi. *P.* 4, 83, A. *Ag.* 760, etc. See Lorentz, *o.c.* (15 n.), 42 f.; H. Erbse, *H* 81 (1953), 166; Gow, *Theoc.* 222; Schwyzer II, 204.

ἐπιλήθεται ἕδρης: cf. *Od.* 4, 455 = Hes. *Th.* 560 δολίης ἐπελήθετο τέχνης. It is explained by Kuiper and Cahen as ‘she never forgets to keep watch’, but elsewhere in Greek ἕδρη is always concretely ’sitting-place, seat, session’, and the connexion with the thought of the next two lines (‘but even when she sleeps she does so under the throne’) is unsatisfactory. Howald-Staiger’s ‘Keinen Augenblick verlässt sie den Sitz’ is better in the context, but ἐπιλήθεσθαι hardly = ‘leave’. Since, however, Iris from time to time has commissions to fulfill, why should the meaning not be ‘she never forgets to return to her post, even in order to go to sleep’? Cf. *Od.* 5, 324 οὐδ’ ὧς σχεδίης ἐπελήθετο, 1, 57 ὅπως ’Ιθάκης ἐπιλήσεται, etc.

234. ληθαῖον: 'causing forgetfulness', first in Call. See Schmitt, *Nom.* 41 n. 3. For more, apparently Hellenistic, innovations with the suffix see McLennan, *Zeus* 101.

ἐπὶ ... ἐρείσει: for the tmesis cf. *Il.* 11, 235 ἐπὶ δ' αὐτὸς ἔρειδε, and above, 209 n. Again, as in l. 229 παύσεται, a future indicative makes hardly sense here, sleep being a regularly recurring phenomenon. (In *H.* 3, 170, which is cited by Pfeiffer, *Proleg.* LXXXIX as a parallel, a subjunctive is preferable too: see Bornmann's note.) If, then, ἐρείσει is a subjunctive, we either must write ἐρείσῃ with Schneider (cf. above, l. 7 ἀείσῃ *Schol. Lyc.*, Pfeiffer: ἀείσει MSS, and l. 175 ῥώσωνται Stephanus, Pfeiffer: ῥώσονται MSS), or we must keep the text and bear with the anomaly, on which see Chantr. I, 454; Schwyzer I, 790 f.

πτέρον: this seems to be the first time that Sleep is represented as winged in literature: see Cahen, *Comm.*, 198. In *Il.* 14, 289, though, Hypnos is sitting in a tree on Mt. Ida in the shape of a bird. On reliefs and vase-paintings the representation of the winged Hypnos is common, e.g. on the famous Cypselus chest (cf. Paus. 5, 17, 2), on the Calyx Krater of Euphronios in the New York Metropolitan Museum (Cat. No. 11, 10), and on a lekythos in the British Museum (Cat. No. D 58). See Hamdorf, *Kultpersonif.*, 43 f., 102; *KlP* 2, 1279 f.

ὕπνος ἐρείσει: a new expression to describe the arrival of sleep, cf. *Il.* 1, 610* ὕπνος ἱκάνοι, 23, 232* ὕπνος ὄρουσεν, 24, 679* ὕπνος ἔμαρπτεν, *Od.* 5, 472* ὕπνος ἐπέλθῃ.

235. γλωχῖνα: *Il.* 24, 274*, denoting a hook or cleat to fasten a rope: see above, 31 n. Here the meaning may either be 'angle', cf. the Scholiast's explanation γωνίαν and the use of τριγλώχιν as an epithet for Sicily in fr. 1, 36, or 'leg', if really the curved legs of chairs of the κλισμός type can be denoted by this word. See G. M. A. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks* (London 1966), Plates 166 ff.

ποτί: for πρός with verbs of rest cf. *Od.* 23, 90 πρὸς κίονα μακρῇν / ἧστο, etc., see Chantr. II, 133.

μεγάλοιο ... θρόνοιο: for the *versus leoninus* see above, 67 n.

236. τύτθον ἀποκλίνασα καρήατα: 'the head turned away a little'. For τύτθον as an adverb with a notion of space cf. *Il.* 5, 443 ἀνεχάζετο τύτθον ὀπίσσω. For καρήατα 'heads' cf. *Il.* 17, 436; above, 134 n. For the plural to denote a single part of the body cf. *Il.* 18, 414 πρόσωπα, etc.; see Chantr. II, 31; Schwyzer II, 43 f. Latin likewise has *ora*, *terga*, *pectora* and the like.

λέχριος: 'aslant, obliquely' seems more apt if we imagine Iris to be sleeping in a *sitting* position, like the (? sleeping ? mourning) little slaves depicted on Attic gravestones (e.g. the Ilissos Stele, see Richter, *Handbook of Greek Art*, London 1959, 151), to which Wilamowitz, *HD* II, 73 n. 1, refers.

For λέχριος cf. S. *OC* 195, E. *Hc.* 1026; in Xen. *Cyn.* 4, 3 it is said of the heads of sporting dogs. The adjective is two-terminal here, just as the cognate δοχμός and (sometimes) πλάγιος, see *LSJ.*

237. ζώνην ἀναλύεται: on the variation see above, 209 n.

ταχείας: here of Iris' shoes, whereas in Homer it is the stock epithet for the goddess herself, cf. *Il.* 8, 399; 11, 186, etc.

238. ἐνδρομίδας: according to Pollux 7, 93, this is the kind of shoe that is typical for Artemis, cf. *H.* 3, 16 with Bornmann's note. For a representation of Artemis wearing high boots see E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen* (München 1969), 166. Boots suitable for fast hunting are suitable for Iris' pursuits as well.

μή: 'for fear that' or 'in case of'. The omission of some *verbum timendi* in the main clause is highly exceptional. Naber's ἦν (*Mnem.* 34, 1906, 236) certainly does not clear up things much. For μή καί in a negative final clause and after a verb of fearing cf. S. *Ph.* 13, 46, 534, etc.: see Denn.², 298 (καί = 'actually').

αἰφνίδιον: prose-word (but cf. A. *Pr.* 680), see Schmitt, *Nom.* 40 n. 4. It is used elsewhere to denote a thought or fear emerging all of a sudden: see *LSJ.* For the lengthening of the final syllable see *Introd.*, ch. 4.3.2 (2).

ἔπος εἴπῃ: cf. *Od.* 19, 98 εἴπῃ ἔπος, 23, 342 εἶπεν ἔπος, *Il.* 1, 543 εἰπεῖν ἔπος, 3, 204 ἔπος ... ἔειπες, etc.; see Fehling, *Wiederholungsfig.*, 156 ff. Ἔπος immediately preceding εἰπ- is not found elsewhere, ἔπος ηὔδα being in use in that case. For ἔπος said of an order cf. *Il.* 1, 216; 9, 100.

239. δέσποτις: this word, put in an emphatic position at the beginning of the line before a full stop, brings us back to Hera, the description of whose reaction the poet has deferred so long. See above, 215-248 n.

Δέσποτις occurs in Tragedy and Attic prose, see *LSJ.* Call. has a preference for *feminina* on -τις: see Schmitt, *Nom.* 48. Note the variation in Hera's titles: 219 κρείουσα, 221 ἄνασσα, 226 πότνια, 239 δέσποτις.

ἀλεγεινόν: 'bitterly'. The adjective is Homeric, cf. *Il.* 13, 569* (-ος), but the adverb is not found elsewhere.

ἀλαστήσασα προσηύδα: cf. *Od.* 1, 252 τὸν δ' ἐπαλαστήσασα προσηύδα, *Il.* 12, 163* ἀλαστήσας ἔπος ηὔδα, and also 7, 225; 15, 103, etc. See *Introd.*, ch. 3.2.1 (a).

In Homer, the person addressed is generally added to προσηύδα, unless he or she was mentioned shortly before, cf. *Il.* 20, 448, *h.Ap.* 61; in *Il.* 15, 114 and 398, however, προσηύδα merely = ηὔδα, as here in Call. (Aristarchus later wrote ἔπος ηὔδα there, see Munro-Allen's *apparatus.*) But it is possible as well that the Homeric rarity is used here to confuse the reader, who is tempted at first sight to think only of Asteria as the person addressed, to learn afterwards that *all* Ζηνὸς ὀνείδεα are railed at by Hera.

240. οὕτω νῦν: followed by a vocative also in *Il.* 10, 192*, *Od.* 4, 148*, etc.; by an optative also in *Od.* 8, 465* and 18, 236* f.

ὦ: indispensable, since the non-ὦ vocative would have expressed respect. See Giangrande, *art. cit.* (1 n.), 52 ff.

Ζηνὸς ὀνείδεα: cf. A. *Se.* 539 πόλεως ὄνειδος ('the disgrace of the city'), S. *OC* 984, Ar. *Ach.* 855, Pl. *Phdr.* 277 a, etc. The genitive in all these instances, however, is objective, whereas Ζηνός is probably possessive, ὀνείδεα being a more vigorous substitute for ἑταῖραι or παλλακαί. Cf. Cahen's translation 'Vous donc, les honteuses passions de Zeus ...'. For ὄνειδος said of a person cf. *Il.* 16, 498 f. σοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ ἔπειτα κατηφείη καὶ ὄνειδος / ἔσσομαι, and also the use of ἐλέγχεα in *Il.* 2, 235 and Hes. *Th.* 26.

240 f. καὶ (γαμέοισθε) ... καὶ (τίκτοιτε): who mates in secret should not expect fame and glory when giving birth.

γαμέοισθε / λάθρια: Hera refrains from using the straightforward epic expressions λάθρῃ παραλέχεσθαι / μίσγεσθαι of *Il.* 2, 515, *Od.* 8, 168 f.; 15, 430, etc.; she is the proud matron, scorning her husband's mistresses, but praising Asteria because of her modesty. See Wilamowitz, *HD* II, 72. The Alexandrian audience may have thought here of Philadelphus, who πλείστας ἔσχεν ἐρωμένας (Athen. *Deipn.* 13, 576 e, f.), see Macurdy, *o.c.* (123 n.), 124; Fraser, *PA* II, 391 n. 401. Mockery on the subject was allowed, cf. Theocritus' qualification ἐρωτικός (*Id.* 14, 61) of Philadelphus (see Gow's note).

241. λάθρια: the adjective is found in S. *Ichn.* 66, in Com. and Hellenistic prose, but never adverbially. For the neuter plural used as an adverb cf. Homeric μακρά, πολλά, ταρφέα, etc. See Schwyzer I, 621.

κεκρυμμένα: evidently formed by analogy with λάθρια, κεκρυμμένως being metrically impossible, and κρύφα, κρύβδα or κρύφῃ perhaps too flat. That κε- scans short before mute + liquid is exceptional: see *Introd.*, ch. 4.3.2 (3).

μηδ' etc.: 'not even' in the humble abodes of slaves, being the lowest possible human class, but amidst animals.

δειλαί: in *Od.* 20, 115, a γυνὴ ἀλετρίς qualifies herself with this very adjective.

242. δυστοκέες: probably not from -τοκεύς, as *LSJ* explain, but from -τοκής, being a variant of δύστοκος (E. fr. 863), cf. δυσπονής ~ δύσπονος, etc. See Schmitt, *Nom.* 120 n. 37. The adjective is not found before Call.

ἀλετρίδες: evidently representing the lowest possible social class here, cf. *Od.* 20, 105. In cult-practice, though, mill-women were important, cf. Ar. *Lys.* 643, *adesp. iamb.* fr. 37 West, etc.

242 f. φῶκαι / εἰνάλιαι: cf. *Od.* 4, 442 φωκάων ἁλιοτρεφέων, with in the next line εἰναλίῳ (παρὰ κήτεϊ), 5, 66 f. κορῶναι / εἰνάλιαι. The epithet is not purely ornamental here, since it stresses the pariah-like position of Zeus'

mistresses, who cannot even find a place on earth to give birth to their children; cf. above, l. 111, where Leto beseeches Peneius' daughters to appeal to their father, so as to make it possible for Zeus' children to be born ἐν ὕδατι, if there should be no room for them elsewhere.

The seals recall *h.Ap.* 70ff., where Delos expresses her fear that Apollo will reject her, and that she will become an abode for polypi and black seals, which seems to her the nadir of misery.

243. σπιλάδεσσι: *Od.* 3, 298*, 5, 401* (not elsewhere in Homer). Since σπιλάς everywhere else in Greek is feminine, ἔρημος is best regarded as two-terminal, the way it is used in Hdt. and Att., but not in Homer, cf. *Od.* 3, 270 νῆσον ἐρήμην.

244. Ἀστερίῃ δ' οὐδέν τι βαρύνομαι: cf. *Il.* 8, 407 Ἥρῃ δ' οὔ τι τόσον νεμεσίζομαι οὐδὲ χολοῦμαι, *Od.* 4, 195 νεμεσσῶμαί γε μὲν οὐδέν. For οὐδέν τι cf. E. *Hl.* 1197, *Md.* 190, Hdt. 5, 65, etc. For βαρύνομαι see above, 202 n.

εἵνεκα τῆσδε: 151 n.; cf. Phanocles fr. 1, 28 Pow. κείνης εἵνεκεν ἀμπλακίης.

245. ἀμπλακίης: first in Thgn. 546 *al.*, then in Empedocles, Pindar and Tragedy, and therefore not specifically Tragic, as Kuiper states.

οὐδ' ἔστιν ὅπως: posthomeric idiom (but cf. *Il.* 21, 103 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις), followed by a future indicative also in Hdt. 7, 102, S. *Ant.* 329, *Ph.* 552f., E. *Md.* 171f., etc. See Kühner-Gerth II, 2, 375.

ἀποθύμια ῥέξω: cf. *Il.* 14, 261* μή ... ἀποθύμια ἔρδοι. By writing ῥέξω instead of ἔρξω Call. avoids hiatus and employs a variation as well: see above, 203 n.

246. τόσσα δέοι: if the text is right (see Pfeiffer's *apparatus*), τόσσα is relative, as in *H.* 2, 81 (see Williams' note), 94 and fr. 388, 8 (with Pfeiffer's note), the phrase being equivalent to ὅσα ἂν δέοι. The optative has given offence as being barely grammatical, but it is certainly not uncommon in the relative clause in Homer (see Schwyzer II, 325); moreover, it strikes the right note, since Hera's indulgence towards Asteria is exceptional: 'as much as strictly speaking should be necessary.'

Reiske proposed τόσσα δέω, translated by Kranz, p. 97, as 'So weit bin ich davon entfernt'; but the parenthesis with γάρ completely hangs in the air in that case. According to Barber, *CR* n.s. 4 (1954), 230, we perhaps could write τόσσα δέον = καίπερ δέον τοσαῦτα ῥέζειν, but such an absolute accusative is quite alien to epic style: see Chantr. II, 49; Schwyzer II, 401 f. H. J. Rose, *Mnem.* s. III, 2 (1959), 66f., argues that we can keep the text of codd. ATηE τόσσα δέ οἱ ('so much for her' = 'no more for her'), if only l. 246 be transposed after l. 248, the train of thought being as follows: 'I am not at all angry with Asteria; nay, I reverence her, because she preferred the sea to

Zeus. So, enough of her; for indeed she did very ill to favour Leto.' This is hard to accept, since (i) no other transpositions are needed in the Hymns anywhere; (ii) the transposition completely destroys the surprise-effect of l. 248, where at last Hera's motive for respecting Asteria comes out into the open (see Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 163), and (iii) the γάρ clause ('for, really, she *did* wrong') can only reasonably refer to an idea of punishment. H. Lloyd-Jones, *H* 110 (1982), 119 f., too, prefers τόσσα δέ οἱ. After a full stop to be placed after ῥέξω in l. 245, this would present an aposiopesis, to be indicated typographically by placing a dash after the parenthesis of l. 246; the audience would expect something on the lines of κακὰ γένοιτο. As the obvious parallel for aposiopesis in Call. he quotes *Aet.* fr. 75, 4 Ἥρην γάρ κοτέ φασι—, and moreover suggests that Virgil's famous '*quos ego*—' (*Aen.* 1, 35, cf. *Ecl.* 3, 8 f.) was inspired by the aposiopesis in *Delos*. The objections here are: (i) an aposiopesis after a parenthesis is hardly to be though of, any addition spoiling the effect of the suppression; (ii) after the conciliatory phrases of lines 244-5 ('I respect Asteria, I will not cause any unpleasantness against her'), the audience does not expect any more threatening words as κακὰ γένοιτο; (iii) the placing of a full stop after l. 245 disturbs the coherence of the passage: (244 f.) 'I do not feel angry with Asteria: (246) on the contrary, I greatly honour her.'

As was said above, the required sense of the clause is 'as much as really should be done.' With Pfeiffer, I think that Lascaris' τόσσα δέοι confers this idea in the most satisfying way.

μάλα γάρ τε: *Il.* 3, 25*, 21, 24*. This is the only instance of a conjunction with τε in Call.: see Ruijgh, *o.c.* (6 n.), 968. In Homer, too, the idea of generality which is basically expressed by epic τε does not always apply, cf. *Il.* 12, 245; 20, 156 and 24, 602, cited by Denn.², 531. We could read τι instead of τε, of course, but that is found already in l. 244 and 247, and so perhaps less probable.

κακῶς ἐχαρίσσατο: a fine oxymoron. For the use of the adverb Schneider refers to *Il.* 2, 253 κακῶς νοστήσομεν, 12, 62 ἀφραδέως ... ἐλαύνομεν ὠκέας ἵππους.

In Homer, the ι of χαρίσασθαι counts always short; on the spelling ἐχαρίσ(σ)ατο see Pfeiffer, *Proleg.* LXXXVIII.

247. ἔκπαγλόν τι: ἔκπαγλον/-ως reinforces various verbs of emotion in Homer, such as μαίνομαι, ὀδύρομαι, ἐπεύχομαι, etc. See Thesleff, *Intensif.*, 186. On τι see above, 60 n.

σεβίζομαι: Homer has σέβομαι and σεβάζομαι, σεβίζομαι being found mainly in Pindar and Tragedy, cf. e.g. A. *Su.* 922 τοὺς ἀμφὶ Νείλου δαίμονας σεβίζομαι.

248. δέμνιον οὐκ ἐπάτησε: according to Mc Kay, this phrase echoes l. 227

οἵ σεῖο πέδον πατέουσιν ἐφετμήν: "Asterie, the messenger complained, has 'trampled on' Hera's command; at all events, the goddess replied, she has not 'trampled on' my bed." (*Erys.*, 163). This is an attractive idea, but based on an interpretation of lines 226 f. which I cannot support (*v. supra*). As appears from l. 74 above, πατέω + object in Call. has evidently the neutral meaning of 'tread on' (*pace* Fraenkel, *Comm. Aesch. Agam.* III, 547). Δέμνιον πατέω therefore may be regarded here as a variant of the epic expression ἀνά/εἰς δέμνια βαίνω (*Od.* 8, 314, Hes. *Op.* 328), cf. A. *Ag.* 1193 εὐνὰς ἀδελφοῦ τῷ πατοῦντι.

ἀνθείλετο: cf. *Il.* 17, 177* ἀφείλετο, 15, 460* *al.* ἐξείλετο. Ἀνθαιρέομαι occurs in Euripides and Attic prose; with genitive and accusative in E. *Cyc.* 310 f. τὸ δ' εὐσεβὲς / τῆς δυσσεβείας ἀνθελοῦ.

πόντον: a far more common word than the curious τάφρον in l. 37, to which it refers.

249-274. Birth of Apollo. After Lydian swans have circled seven times around Delos, Apollo jumps forth from his mother's womb, whereupon the Delian nymphs sing the song of Eileithyia. Hera's wrath is appeased by Zeus. Delos is covered all over with gold, and whilst taking Apollo in her arms, she proclaims herself the god's island, being fixed for ever in the Mediterranean.

Now that Hera has resigned herself to the inevitable, Apollo's birth comes about quickly. The god's independence, already sufficiently illustrated to the reader by his prophesies and the directions to his mother, is demonstrated once more: the infant jumps into the world without help from Eileithyia, who seems not to be present at all (see above, 132 n.). In playful contrast with this maturity, however, is the scene of l. 274, where Apollo, seemingly unaffected by Asteria's '*Magnificat*' (Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 184), is suddenly the innocent baby, sucking Asteria's breast.

Asteria's shining looks and proud words characterize her appearance as an epiphany, a glorious manifestation of the deity in full power, which is a common phenomenon also in the Homeric Hymns: cf. *h.Cer.* 275 ff., *h.Bacch.* 32 ff., etc. See *Introd.*, ch. 1.2.2, and below, 266 ff. On the whole episode see Mc Kay, *o.c.*, 167 ff.

249. ἡ μὲν ἔφη: on this speech concluding formula see *Introd.*, ch. 3.2.1 (b).

κύκνοι: for swans as (singing) birds of Apollo cf. *h.Hom.* 21, 1 Φοῖβε, σὲ μὲν καὶ κύκνος ὑπὸ πτερύγων λίγ' ἀείδει, Ar. *Av.* 769 ff. τοιάδε κύκνοι / ... / συμμιγῆ βοὴν ὁμοῦ / πτέροισι κρέκοντες ἴακχον Ἀπόλλω, Pl. *Phd.* 85 b οἱ κύκνοι, ... ἅτε ... τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὄντες, and further Ba. 16, 6, E. *Ion* 162 ff., Hecat. Abd. 264 FGH 12, Call. *H.* 2, 5, and possibly fr. 194, 47 f., etc. See A. H. Krappe, "ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΚΥΚΝΟϹ," *CP* 37, 4 (1942), 353 ff.; D. L. Page, *Alcman, The Partheneion* (Oxford 1951), 100; Williams, *Apollo*, 20. For swans on Delian coins see T. Hackens, in: *Guide de Délos* (Paris 1966), 69 and Plate 19, 8.

†θεοῦ μέλποντες ἀοιδοί†: several objections have been raised against the text as given by the MSS. (i) μέλποντες ἀοιδοί is virtually a tautology. (ii) It is improbable that the swans should be qualified first as 'singers of Apollo' and then as 'most musical birds of the Muses'. (iii) The swans cannot have a function in Apollo's service, since the god is not yet born. (iv) The mentioning of the singing is inconvenient here, since it is dealt with *in extenso* in 251 f. (v) The adjectival use of the participle is elsewhere found only in stock formulae such as θεοὶ αἰὲν ἐόντες (*Od.* 1, 263, etc.) and βροτοὶ σῖτον ἔδοντες (*Od.* 8, 222, etc.).

Of these, (ii) is the weakest, since the swans are known as the birds of Apollo and the Muses alike in mythology. The other objections, however, are serious enough to cause us to look for emendation. The following readings have been proposed:

(1) θεὸν μέλποντες ἀοιδαῖς (Ruhnkenius, Kuiper) or ἀοιδῇ (Blomfield, Naeke). Liable to objection (iv).

(2) θεοῦ μέλλοντες ἄοζοι (Meineke, Schneider, Howald-Staiger). This implies a more serious change in the text, but makes excellent sense: 'the future attendants of the god'. Meineke took ἄοζοι from Hesychius (ἄοζοι· μάγειροι. ὑπηρέται, θεράποντες, ἀκόλουθοι. Καλλίμαχος.) Though Καλλίμαχος there probably refers to μάγειροι only (see Pfeiffer on fr. 563), ἄοζοι can certainly be accepted as a borrowing from A. *Ag.* 231 or the like. The same effect can be obtained by writing ἀμορβοί, cf. *H.* 3, 45* ἀμορβούς (see Bornmann's note), but that is still further from the transmitted text.

(3) θεοῦ μέλλοντος ἀΐσσειν 'because the god lingered to jump forward' (Reiske). A reference to the lingering of Apollo is only too apt here, of course, but the use of ἀΐσσειν as a variant for ἐκθορεῖν (l. 255) is harsh.

(4, 5) Wilamowitz, in his fourth edition, combined the MSS text with Meineke's conjecture, reading θεοῦ μέλλοντες ἀοιδοί, which is incompatible with the announcement of their singing in l. 251 (but according to Wilamowitz the Μουσάων ὄρνιθες are nightingales, see below), while Cahen made the other obvious combination θεοῦ μέλποντες ἄοζοι, which is liable to objection (iv).

Since the truth seems irrecoverable here, Pfeiffer's presentation of the text is wisest (though θεοῦ has a good chance of being right). We can keep in mind Meineke's solution as presenting the most adequate sense.

The corruption may be due to damage to the top of the page in Ψ's predecessor. If we assume that that was the cause of the lacunae in 177 a + b and 202-3 (see above), and that the top of the next page was slightly damaged too, then we can expect textual difficulties also in lines 224-5 and 248-9 (each page of the MS containing 24 lines), which in fact is the case: see Pfeiffer's *apparatus* on 224-5 (ἐκάλεσσεν and αὐτῇ '*non iam legi poterant in* Ψ'). It is strange, then, that 248 is transmitted faultlessly, and that of 249 the

ending is corrupt instead of the beginning, written as it probably was on the verso of lines 224-5, which were damaged at the end.

250. Μηόνιον: elsewhere only the substantive Μηονίη etc. is found, cf. *Il.* 18, 291 and *h.Ap.* 179 Μηονίην ἐρατεινήν, in the last instance mentioned as one of the favourite resorts of Apollo.

Πακτωλόν: the name may have been chosen as a mere variation for the Cayster, where swans were located in *Il.* 2, 461. Elsewhere the Pactolus is mentioned only with a reference to gold or to the cult of Cybele, cf. S. *Ph.* 394, Ba. 3, 45, Hermes. 7, 42 Powell, etc.

ἐκυκλώσαντο: cf. Hes. fr. 150, 28 κυκλώσαντο. For κυκλόομαι as a 'Lieblingswort' of Call. see Herter, *Xenia Bonnensia* (1929), 103 n. 2; Bornmann, *Dian.*, 81; Reinsch-Werner, *Call. hes.*, 271.

The source for the description of the singing swans encircling Delos seven times may have been of a literary character, e.g. the account of the Hyperboreans by Hecataeus of Abdera, who tells (264 FGH 12 = Ael. *NA* 11, 1) how during festivities regarding Apollo enormous swarms of swans fly down from the Rhipean mountains, καὶ περιελθόντες τὸν νεὼν καὶ οἱονεὶ καθήραντες αὐτὸν τῇ πτήσει, εἶτα μέντοι κατίασιν ... ὅταν οὖν οἵ τε ᾠδοὶ τῇ σφετέρᾳ μούσῃ τῷ θεῷ προσᾴδωσι ... καὶ οἱ κύκνοι συναναμέλπουσιν, κτἕ. One could think further of the description of the Delphic sanctuary in Pi. *pae.* 8, 70f. χρύσεαι δ' ἓξ ὑπὲρ αἰετοῦ / ἄειδον κηληδόνες, interpreted by Pausanias as some sort of Sirens, but which were in fact images: see Furtwängler, *AZ* 40, 343.

On the other hand it is curious that a sevenfold *circumambulatio* is especially attested in Egyptian rites, cf. Plut. *Is. Os.* 52, 372 B, C ἔτι δὲ τὴν βοῦν ὑπὸ τροπὰς χειμερινὰς ἑπτάκις περὶ τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ἡλίου περιφέρουσι, and especially Epiphan. Panarion, *Haer.* 51, 22, 10 Holl: (after some nocturnal rite at the sanctuary of Kore) περιφέρουσιν αὐτὸ τὸ ξόανον ἑπτάκις κυκλώσαντες τὸν μεσαίτατον ναόν. See W. Pax, *RAC* III, 144. According to S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer* I (Kristiania 1914), 26, the last instance is "ein interessantes Bleibsel antiken Kultusgebrauchs." It seems quite possible that such rites influenced our poet, whose interest in curious rituals is evident. See also below, however, on the importance of the number seven to Apollo.

251. ἑβδομακίς: absolute *hapax eiremenon* in Greek, instead of ἑπτάκις (cf. Pi. *O.* 13, 40, Ar. *Lys.* 698, Hippon. 10, 2, etc.). According to F. Sommer, *SBAW* 1950, 7 (1951), 17, Call. took the word from some older source, while O. Szemerényi, *Syncope in Greek and Indo-European* ... (Naples 1964), 134ff., argues that Call. based this formation on A. *Se.* 126, where from πύλαις ἑβδόμαις one could conclude ἕβδομος to be an *ordinale* as well. This, however, would make a quite singular case of *interpretatio Aeschylea* in Call.

R. Schmitt, *Münch. Stud. Sprachwiss.* 22 (1967), 94ff., supposes that ὄγδοον in l. 255 by 'morphological anticipation' has effectuated the formation of ἑβδομάκις, while for the combination of a *multiplicativum* + *ordinale* he refers to *Il.* 5, 436ff. τρὶς ... τὸ τέταρτον.

There are, however, two more obvious factors which would have inspired Call. here. (i) Many composite nouns which bear connexion with Apollo start with ἑβδο-, e.g. Ἑβδομαῖον, ἑβδόμειος, ἑβδομαγενής and -γέτης, see *LSJ*. (ii) In the regular *cardinalia* ἑβδομήκοντα and ὀγδοήκοντα, too, the first element is derived from the *ordinale*. Could not ἑβδομάκις have been formed playfully *via* the analogy πεντήκοντα: πεντάκις = ἑβδομήκοντα: ἑβδομάκις?

The number seven is not only important as regards the seven strings of the lyre (see below, 253 n.), but it is also the special number of Apollo: he was said to have been born on the seventh (cf. Hes. *Op.* 771 f., with West's notes; A. *Se.* 800), and the seventh day of the month also was the fixed day for Apolline festivals. See W. Schmidt, "Geburtstag im Altertum," *RVV* 7, 1 (1908-9), 15, 89ff.; Nilsson, *GF* 146; *GGR* I, 561 f.; W. H. Roscher, "Die Sieben- und Neunzahl im Kultus und Mythus der Griechen," *SbLeipz.* 24, 1 (1906), 1 ff.; 24, 6 and 210ff. As to Delos, it is interesting that the temple of the Athenians was called also 'Temple of the Seven Statues', which were erected within the building on a horse-shoe base: see Bruneau-Ducat, *Guide de Délos* (Paris ²1966), 82 f.

ἐπήεισαν: ἐπι- possibly suggests that by their singing they intended to influence the proceedings of Apollo's birth, the verb being used for an incantation also in E. *IA* 1212 and Hdt. 1, 132: see Denniston on E. *El.* 864; Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 186 f.; Chantr. *Dict. Ét.*, 22 A. Ἤεισα is not found elsewhere, and can either be an epicising form of Attic ᾖσα (Ar. *Nub.* 1371, Pl. *Ti.* 21 b), or a playful combination of the epic imperfect ἤειδε (*Od.* 1, 154, etc.) with the aorist ἄεισε (22, 411, etc.)

λοχείῃ: further only in Euripides and Plato, see *LSJ*.

252. Μουσάων ὄρνιθες, ἀοιδότατοι πετεηνῶν: since in Theoc. 12, 6f. ἀοιδοτάτη πετεηνῶν refers to a nightingale (cf. E. *Hl.* 1109 f. ἀοιδοτάταν ὄρνιθα ... ἀηδόνα), Wilamowitz (*Il. u. Hom.* 461 n. 1, cf. *HD* II, 73 with n. 2), misunderstanding ἐπήεισαν (see below), supposed the 'birds of the Muses' in *Delos* also to be nightingales (cf. above, 249 n.). F. Dornseiff, *o.c.* (86-99 n.), moreover suspected some 'literaturkritische Nebensinn' to be hidden behind these birds: the swans would represent the Cyclic poets, the nightingales the subtle modernists like Call. himself. These interpretations are untenable, since l. 254 clearly proves that the *swans* sang seven times. Wilamowitz tried to solve this difficulty by translating ἐπήεισαν as '(die Musenvögelchen) schlugen auch', but this will not do, because in that case λοχείῃ hangs completely in the air, and the singing of the swans, to which l. 254 refers,

would not have been mentioned. Moreover, in this early poem of Call. allusions to some literary feud are not yet to be expected: cf. above, l. 31, where the Telchines are merely mythical blacksmiths, and do not represent Callimachus' literary adversaries as they do in the Aetia prologue. See further Herter, *BJ* 207; Gow, *Theoc.*, 144; Williams, *Apollo*, 86 ff.

For swans as birds of the Muses cf. E. *IT* 1104 f. (Delos,) ἔνθα κύκνος μελῳδὸς Μούσας θεραπεύει. For ἀοιδότατοι πετεηνῶν cf. *Il.* 8, 247* τελειότατον πετεηνῶν, 22, 139* ἐλαφρότατος πετεηνῶν, 17, 675 ὀξύτατον ... πετεηνῶν.

253 f. Call. does not follow here, evidently *ad maiorem Phoebi gloriam*, the tradition of the Homeric Hymn to Hermes, where the invention of the lyre with seven strings was attributed to that god: cf. l. 51 ἑπτὰ δὲ συμφώνους οἴων ἐτάνυσσετο χορδάς. (For the tradition in later times cf. Hor. *C.* 1, 10, via Alcaeus: see Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 166 f.) Call. here probably follows the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, which in l. 131 describes how Apollo almost immediately after his birth claims the kithara as his personal instrument: εἴη μοι κίθαρίς τε φίλη. In both the Homeric and the Callimachean hymn there is no part to play for Hermes. It is not impossible either that Call. here had the version in mind, mentioned in *Hypoth. Pyth.* a, Schol. Pind. II, 1 f. Drachmann, according to which Hermes presented Apollo with a four-stringed lyre, which the god subsequently provided with seven strings.

253. ἔνθεν: introducing an aetiological explanation also in A. *Eu.* 689 f. Ἄρει δ' ἔθυον, ἔνθεν ἔστ' ἐπώνυμος πέτρα πάγος τ' Ἄρειος, E. *Ion* 1590 f. Δῶρος μέν, ἔνθεν Δωρὶς ὑμνηθήσεται πόλις, etc. See McLennan, *Zeus*, 76.

ὁ παῖς: *h.Merc.* 209*.

λύρῃ: on vase-paintings, the lyre is the regular instrument for *young* Apollo and youths in general, whereas as an adult the god is generally depicted holding the kithara. See E. Simon, *Opfernde Götter* (Berlin 1953), 14 f.; illustrations also in M. Wegner, *Musikgeschichte in Bildern* II, 4 (Leipzig 1963), Pls. 21 ff., 55 ff. Whether Call. intentionally used λύρα for that reason, and not κίθαρα, is impossible to establish, the two being often confused in literature, cf. E. *Alc.* 446, *Ion* 881, *IT* 1128, Ba. *Enc.* 20 B, 2, etc.

ἐνεδήσατο χορδάς: *h.Merc.* 51 ἐτανύσσετο χορδάς. Homer only has ἐνέδησα etc. in the active (*Il.* 15, 469; 2, 111, etc.), but ἔδησατο in *Il.* 2, 44; 10, 22, etc.

254. ὕστερον: cf. above, l. 172*, 190*. The adverb clearly indicates that Apollo did not bring his lyre with him from the womb, as Dornseiff, *o.c.* (252 n.), *l.c.*, explains, supposing that Call. here humorously misunderstood *h.Ap.* 13 οὕνεκα τοξοφόρον καὶ καρτερὸν υἱὸν ἔτικτεν. See Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 165 n. 3.

ὁσσάκι: also in *Il.* 21, 265; 22, 194, *Od.* 11, 585, but there with the optative and followed by τοσσάκι.

ἐπ' ὠδίνεσσιν ἄεισαν: varies 1.251 ἐπήεισαν δὲ λοχείῃ. For ὠδίνεσσι see 202 n.; ἀείδω of animals cf. *Od.* 19, 519; 21, 411, *h.Hom.* 21, 2. For the repetition of ἄεισαν in the next line cf. *Il.* 22, 495 χείλεα μέν τ' ἐδίην', ὑπερῴην δ' οὐκ ἐδίηνε, etc.: see Fehling, *Wiederholungsfig.*, 129.

255. ὄγδοον οὐκέτ' ἄεισαν: cf. *Aet.* fr. 75, 20 τέτρατον οὐκέτ' ἔμεινε πατήρ. Ὄγδοον adverbially is not attested elsewhere, but the analogy with πρῶτον / δεύτερον / τέταρτον is obvious.

It has been supposed that 'No eighth time they sang' contains a reference to a controversy on the number of strings on the lyre: see Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 166. Such a controversy, however, seems to have been non-existent: the seven-stringed lyre was in use from the first half of the 7th century B.C. onwards (see A. Lesky, *Geschichte der Griech. Literatur*, Bern ²1963, 151 with n. 1), while individual poets from time to time seem to have experimented with the number of strings, cf. [Plut.] *de Mus.* 30 = Pherecr. fr. 145, 3-5 Edmonds, and see M. Wegner, *Das Musikleben der Griechen* (Berlin 1949), 37ff. Eratosthenes appears to have related the eight-stringed lyre to the Harmony of the Spheres (cf. fr. 13 Powell τὴν λύραν ποιούμενος ὀκτάχορδον ἐν τῇ διὰ πασῶν συμφωνίᾳ), but that cannot have had any influence on *Delos*, since Eratosthenes was active in Alexandria only some twenty years later (about 250 B.C.: see Lesky, *o.c.*, 839). As it is, the words can be satisfyingly explained as stressing the idea 'seven', Apollo's specific number. Formally, of course, it echoes the Homeric τρὶς ... ἀλλὰ τὸ τέταρτον in *Il.* 5, 436ff.; 16, 702, etc.

ὁ δ' ἔκθορεν: cf. *h.Ap.* 119 ἐκ δ' ἔθορε (*sc.* Apollo), *h.Merc.* 20 ἀπ' ἀθανάτων θόρε γυίων, Hes. *Th.* 281 ἐξέθορε Χρυσάωρ, etc.: see Pfeiffer on *Aet.* fr. 43, 123.

255ff. ἐπὶ μακρόν ... εἶπαν: cf. *Od.* 6, 117 αἳ δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἄυσαν, *Il.* 8, 160 τῷ δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἄυσε, where it cannot be made out whether ἐπί is a preposition or goes with the verb. In Call., ἐπὶ μακρόν undoubtedly belong together: the meaning may either be temporal ('for a long time', see *LSJ*), cf. *Il.* 9, 415 ἐπὶ δηρόν, or local ('with far-sounding voice', Mair), cf. *Il.* 23, 320 ἐπὶ πολλὸν ἑλίσσεται. With a notion of sound, the latter is more probable.

256. Νύμφαι Δηλιάδες, ποταμοῦ γένος ἀρχαίοιο: cf. *h.Ap.* 157 κοῦραι Δηλιάδες, and above, 1.109* Νύμφαι Θεσσαλίδες, ποταμοῦ γένος, with note. Strictly speaking, the name 'Deliades' is an anachronism, since Delos is still Asteria at that moment, the name of Delos being given to her only afterwards by the ἁλίπλοοι (above, 1.52). But a reference to the maidenchoir that in historical times sang the hymn at the Eileithyiaia may be intended: see Bruneau, *Recherches*, 215f.; Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 167 n. 5.

ποταμοῦ ... ἀρχαίοιο: for the variation in the genitive-ending cf. *Od.* 1, 126 δόμου ὑψήλοιο, 23, 229 πυκινοῦ θαλάμοιο, etc. See Cahen, *Call.*, 424.

The river intended cannot but be the rivulet Inopus, which must have been in existence on floating Asteria already 'from old' (ἀρχαίοιο), but without the connexion with the Nile, of course (see above, 207 n.). Here, if anywhere, Wilamowitz' remark on "Vorstellungen, die man nicht ausdenken soll" (*HD* II, 66) applies.

257. εἶπαν: rare form, found also in Hes. fr. 211, 6 and *SIG* 333, 3 (IV B.C.). For the use of εἰπεῖν to denote singing or reciting cf. *A.P.* 7, 2, 6 (Antip.), Pl. *Ion* 535 b, and possibly Call. fr. 75, 43 (see *Add.* I, 501).

Ἐλειθυίης: 132 n. The form here is the Pindaric one, cf. *O.* 6, 42, *P.* 3, 9, *N.* 7, 1 and *pae.* 12, 17: see Smiley, *Ha* 40 (1914), 66.

Eileithyia's part in Apollo's birth varies with the poet treating the subject. In the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, her arrival on Delos suffices to start the god's birth (115ff.); in Pi. *pae.* 12, 15ff., when Apollo and Artemis appeared, Eileithyia and Lachesis 'send forth a big rush from their mouths.' In *Delos*, the goddess is probably not even present: it is only of her hymn, written according to tradition by Olen (Paus. 8, 21, 3; 9, 27, 2; see below, 305 n.) that we hear.

ἱερὸν μέλος: Thgn. 761*.

257f. αἰθήρ / χάλκεος: for sounds reaching the 'aether' cf. *Il.* 13, 837 ἠχὴ δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἵκετ' αἴθερα, 15, 686 φωνὴ δέ οἱ αἰθέρ' ἵκανεν. Χάλκεος is only used with οὐρανός in older poetry, cf. *Il.* 17, 425 σιδήρειος δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς / χάλκεον οὐρανὸν ἶκε δι' αἰθέρος ἀτρυγέτοιο, Thgn. 870, Pi. *P.* 10, 27, etc. For Hellenistic poets, however, αἰθήρ, ἀήρ and οὐρανός are all alike: see above, 176 n.

258. ἀντήχησε: the compound is not epic (but cf. *Il.* 7, 267 περιήχησεν); with the accusative it is found in E. *Md.* 426 and *Alc.* 423. This is no doubt an instance of *interpretatio homerica*: if heaven is made of bronze, as Homer says, then it should echo sounds uttered on earth.

διαπρυσίην ὀλολυγήν: cf. *h.Ven.* 19* διαπρύσιοί τ' ὀλολυγαί (two-terminal), S. *OC* 1479 διαπρύσιος ὄτοβος, E. *Hl.* 1308 διαπρύσιον ... κέλαδον. In *h.Ap.*, the ὀλολυγή is uttered by the assembled goddesses, cf. l. 119 θεαὶ δ' ὀλόλυξαν ἅπασαι, in Theoc. 17, 64, by Cos; in *Delos*, the shout of joy evidently formed part of the song of the Deliades.

259. P. Maas, *JbPhVBerl.* 47 (1921), 136 = *Kleine Schriften*, 84, simply excises the line, but it is quite indispensable, since it definitely settles the 'Anger of Hera Motif', which started in l. 55 with a comparable οὐδ' Ἥρην. (For the device of starting and ending an episode with comparable lines or words see *Introd.*, ch. 1.3.3.) The sudden intervention of Zeus, as a kind of

deus ex machina, is surprising, but there is no sense in asking, of course, why the god did not take action earlier: see above, 195 n. In the Homeric Hymn, no action of Zeus is mentioned, but in Pindar's version (*pae.* 12, 8 ff.), Zeus is sitting down on Cynthus to watch the twins' birth, while activities of Zeus áfter Apollo's birth, viz. donation of lyre, mitra and swan-chariot, were probably described in Alcaeus' Hymn to Apollo (see Page, *S.a.A.*, 244 ff.). In further poetry, too, deviations from the story of the Homeric Hymn may have occurred.

οὐδ' Ἥρη νεμέσησε: cf. *Il.* 18, 198 νεμέσησε δὲ πότνια Ἥρη.

χόλον ἐξέλετο Ζεύς: cf. *Il.* 6, 234* φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεύς (also in 19, 137*, Hes. *Sc.* 89*, etc.), with several variations (cf. *Il.* 18, 311, *Od.* 22, 388, etc.; see further Br. Snell, *Die Entdeckung des Geistes* (Hamburg 1955), 93 n. 1); but also in Homer, ἐξέλεσθαι could be used in 'good' sense, cf. *Od.* 6, 140 ἐκ δέος εἵλετο γυίων, 10, 363 ἐκ κάματον ... εἵλετο γυίων. With a notion of anger it is found in E. *Md.* 1149 f. ὀργάς τ' ἀφῄρει καὶ χόλον νεάνιδος. As to the nature of Zeus' measures to appease Hera's anger the reader is left totally in the dark. D. Kuijper's idea (reported by Mc Kay, *Erys.* 173) that Zeus here stands for 'the thought of Zeus', which restored Hera to good humour, since her amorous husband had failed in the case of Asteria (cf. lines 37 f. and 248) is attractive from an interpretative point of view, but I have my doubts as to the possibility of such an extreme case of *brevitas* in *Delos.*

260 ff. For the gleaming metamorphosis of Asteria commentators generally refer to *h.Ap.* 135 f. χρυσῷ δ' ἄρα Δῆλος ἅπασα / βεβρίθει, and 139 ἤνθησ', while generally omitting 118 μείδησε δὲ γαῖ' ὑπένερθεν and Thgn. 8 ff. πᾶσα μὲν ἐπλήσθη Δῆλος ἀπειρεσίη / ὀδμῆς ἀμβροσίης, ἐγέλασσε δὲ γαῖα πελώρη. See Kuiper, 174; Cahen, *Comm.*, 202 f.; Mc Kay, *P.a.P.*, 72. But Call. wants here to describe not so much Nature's joyful reaction at Apollo's birth, as Asteria's *epiphany*: here for the first time she proudly presents herself to the world (= ὦ μεγάλη, *sc.* γαῖα, l. 266), claiming acknowledgment as the pre-eminent territory of Apollo. For the epiphany as a stock element in hymns see *Introd.*, ch. 1.2; for the lustre the deity displays at that very moment cf. *h.Cer.* 280 αὐγῆς δ' ἐπλήσθη πυκινὸς δόμος ἀστεροπῆς ὥς, etc. See F. Pfister, art. *Epiphanie*, *RE* Suppl. IV, 315 f.; Keyssner, *Gottesvorst.*, 150; E. Pax, art. *Epiphanie*, *RAC* V (1962), 841.

The representation of 'golden' Asteria being Apollo's τιθήνη has an interesting parallel in Egyptian mythology, where Hathor, Horus' wet-nurse (for Horus = Apollo cf. Hdt. 2, 144, etc.), also was the incarnation of gold: see G. Posener, *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Kultur* (Wiesbaden 1960), 88, 99. That Call., being a scholar with many-sided interests, may have been influenced by Egyptian ideas can certainly not be rejected *a priori*: see *Introd.*, ch. 2.1.6, and above, 168 n.

For the five-fold anaphora χρύσεα ... χρυσῷ ... χρύσειον etc. cf. the description of Alcinous' palace in *Od.* 7, 86ff. χάλκεοι ... χρύσειαι ... ἀργύρεοι ... ἀργύρεον ... χρυσέη ... χρύσειοι ... ἀργύρεοι), and also *Il.* 8, 41ff. = 13, 22ff., Call. *H.* 3, 110ff. See Williams, *Apollo*, 39; Fehling, *Wiederholungsfig.*, 204. For gold as a specific metal for gods see Bornmann on *H.* 3, 110; H. L. Lorimer, "Gold and Ivory in Greek Mythology," in: *Greek Poetry and Life*, Essays Gilbert Murray (Oxford 1936), 19f.

Cahen (*Call.*, 455) takes much pains to seek an explanation for the alternation of imperfect and aorist forms in lines 260-3. It is, however, impossible to establish whether Call. regarded γείνετο as an imperfect or an aorist (see above, 214 n.), while πλήμυρε can be both, the υ being always long: in the context, it is plausible that the aorist will be intended. The only unmistakable imperfect then is ἔρρεε, of which no aorist occurs in Homer; for the rather uncommon use of the imperfect of a durative verb accompanied by a notion expressing a limited amount of time (πανήμερος) cf. *Od.* 19, 199, and see further C. M. J. Sicking, *Hoofdstukken uit de Griekse 'syntaxis'* (Amsterdam 1971), 72f. It is possible that Call. is here simply imitating what he saw as an epic peculiarity, cf. *Il.* 2, 43f. βάλλετο ... ἐδήσατο, etc. See Chantr. II, 193f., and above, 33 n.

260. θεμείλια: *Il.* 12, 28*, 23, 255*, *h.Ap.* 254*, 294*, meaning 'foundations', cf. Call. *H.* 2, 57f. with Williams' note. Here the lowest part of Delos is meant, resting now on the sea-bottom, and so forming the 'fundamental part' of her new existence: cf. l. 53f. ἀλλ' ἐνὶ πόντου / κύμασιν Αἰγαίοιο ποδῶν ἐνεθήκαο ῥίζας. In Pi. *P.* 4, 180, θεμείλια refers to the 'roots' of Mt. Pangaeum. See further Schmitt, *Nom.* 40 n. 3; Chantr., *Dict. Ét.*, 438 b.

γείνετο: instead of common epic γείνατο (*Il.* 1, 280*, 3, 238*, *Od.* 6, 25*, etc.); not attested elsewhere. See above, 214 n.

261. τροχόεσσα λίμνη: no doubt *not* the sea around Delos, which the Scholiast thinks of as a possibility, but the small circular lake on Delos, called λίμνη τροχοειδής in Thgn. 7 and Hdt. 2, 170, περιηγής in Call. *H.* 2, 59, cf. A. *Eu.* 9 (λίμνη only), E. *Ion* 167 (*id.*), and *IT* 1103f. (λίμναν θ' εἱλίσσουσαν ὕδωρ / κύκλιον. The adjective occurs here for the first time, and may have been made by analogy with κυκλόεις / κυκλοειδής: see Schmitt, *Nom.* 60, n. 15.

πανήμερος: the Tragic form, cf. A. *Pr.* 1024, S. *Tr.* 660; the epic one is πανημέριος, cf. *Il.* 17, 180; 19, 186, Thgn. 1336. Kranz notes here: "πανήμερος gibt uns die zeitliche Begrenzung des Wunders an," which nobody will deny.

262. A much discussed line, because of the problematic γενέθλιον and the sudden appearance of the olive-tree, whereas in l. 209 only a palm-tree was mentioned as lending support to Leto in her labour.

In view of the birth of Apollo just described and the meaning of γενέθλιον οὖδας in l. 51, it is impossible not to connect the epithet with the god's birth. That being established, three interpretations can be dismissed right away: (i) that of R. Vallois, *BCH* 48 (1924), 435 ff., especially 444, who thinks that γενέθλιον would refer to a later function of the tree in Delian cult, viz. for a supposed purification rite for young mothers; (ii) that of Meineke, who translates *arbor olivarum ferax*, the tree's fertility being not at all under discussion here, and (iii) that of Schneider, who argues that γενέθλιον ἔρνος ἐλαίης here stands for γενέθλη / γένεθλον ('offspring') ἐλαίης.

Bergk (*Kleine philologische Schriften*, Halle 1886, 194), Ernesti and Kuiper pointed out that in several other versions of the story also, the olive-tree forms part of the scenery of Apollo's birth, as e.g. in E. *IT* 1099 ff. (see above, 210 n.). Though not mentioned expressly in l. 210, the tree could according to them be supposed to have been present there already, and γενέθλιον could then be explained as 'standing at the place of birth', 'witnessing birth', *oliva genitalis*. This combines well with the representation in Call. *ia.* 4, where Leto, after having given birth to Apollo while leaning against the palm-tree, subsequently takes some rest near an olive-tree; cf. fr. 194, 84 τ]ῆς ἐλαίης ἥ ἀν[έπαυσ]ε τὴν Λητώ.

Wilamowitz (*HD* II, 74 n. 1), followed by Cahen (*Comm.* 204), takes γενέθλιον not in a local, but in a temporal sense, parallel to πανήμερος in l. 261, translating 'geburtstäglich', so = ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις. Unfortunately ἔρνος is explained by him as 'rich growth' ("Dann ist ἔρνος bedeutungsvoll: der Ölbaum treibt güldene Blätter, so viele, dass ein κομᾶν erfolgt."), for ἔρνος is essentially a *young* sprout or shoot, cf. *Il.* 17, 53, *Od.* 16, 163. The latter fact is accounted for only in the explanation of Bethe (*H* 72, 1937, 193), who argues that in this hymn Call. elegantly combines the old Delian tradition of the palm-tree with the newer one mentioned in Euripides (above, 210 n.): "die Palme war der kreissenden Leto Stütze, der Ölbaum war eine Geburtstagsgabe für Apoll." In other words: when Leto came to Delos, she only found the palm-tree there (cf. l. 210); after Apollo's birth an olive-tree sprouted from the earth, which was subsequently covered with gold like the rest of the island. In my view, this is the most plausible explanation: γενέθλιον ἔρνος thus = 'birthday sapling', the young olive-tree that sprung forth on the occasion of Apollo's birth, while χρύσειον ἐκόμησε = 'got golden foliage' or 'grew golden', for which see Gow on κομόωντι in Theoc. 4, 57.

The mentioning of the olive-tree prepares for the description of the rite around that tree in l. 321 ff., where it is called πρέμνον, and not ἔρνος, of course, and bears the epithet ἁγνόν, which is apposite to Apollo's birthday-tree.

263. πλήμυρε: *Od.* 9, 486 has πλημυρίς, but the verb is found only in Panyass. fr. 12, 19 Kinkel and Archil. fr. 43, 3 (see also Jebb on Ba. 5, 107).

There is no need to write δ' ἐπλήμυρε with Meineke and Schneider, though in Homer elision before the augmented form is a rule. For Call. it is rather the exception that counts, as it is found in *Il.* 15, 671 δὲ φράσσοντο, cf. above, l. 261 δὲ τροχόεσσα, and below, l. 264 δὲ χρυσέοιο.

βαθύς: best taken with πλήμυρε: 'abundant with gold coiling Inopus flowed.' Since the Inopos was thought to communicate with the Nile (see above, 206 n.), it may be of interest here that at least as early as the first century B.C. (but probably earlier), the Nile was called χρυσορρόας: see Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 130f.. For the quantity of the last syllable see *Introd.*, ch. 4.3.2 (2). For βαθύς 'abundant' see above, 206n.

ἑλιχθείς: cf. l. 105 (Πηνειὸς) ἑλισσόμενος. The aorist is not very common (*Il.* 12, 74, E. *IT* 444, *Or.* 358), and was probably chosen for the sake of variety only.

264. χρυσέοιο: Wernicke proposed χρυσείου instead because of the uncommon hiatus. Isolated deviations from otherwise strict metrical rules do occur in Call., however, and there is a Homeric parallel in *Il.* 14, 154 Οὐλύμποιο ἀπὸ ῥίου. See *Introd.*, ch. 4.4.4.

This form of the genitive singular is not found elsewhere, χρυσέου being the regular epic one (*Il.* 2, 268, *h.Ap.* 9, etc.). It can be considered as some sort of hyperepicism, made by Call. by analogy with ἀργυρέοιο (*Il.* 1, 49, etc.).

ἀπ' οὔδεος: *Il.* 12, 448*, *Od.* 9, 242*.

εἵλεο παῖδα, etc.: cf. *h.Cer.* 285f. ἡ μὲν ἔπειτα / παῖδ' ἀνὰ χέρσιν ἑλοῦσα ἑῷ ἐγκάτθετο κόλπῳ, Theoc. 17, 65 φᾶ δὲ (*sc.* Cos) καθαπτομένα βρέφεος χείρεσσι φίλησιν. It is tempting to think here also of the influence of Egyptian rites performed at the birth of a royal child, as represented on reliefs in the sanctuaries of Deir el Bahari and Luxor: see A. Moret, *o.c.* (168 n.), 56f.; E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, Egypt. Expl. Fund II (1896), Pl. 53; H. P. L'Orange, *Symb. Osl.* 21 (1941), 111 f. On these reliefs is depicted the manner in which the royal baby is taken into the arms of Amon and Selkit and greeted by them, and subsequently nursed by the Hathors (for the latter cf. l. 274 below). The royal birth ritual was partly renewed at the enthronement and the subsequent *heb sed* festival, which persisted into Hellenistic times. For *Delos* it is especially interesting that on a relief in a sanctuary in Philae, Philadelphus is represented as being nursed by some goddess (see Moret, *o.c.*, 64): thus the whole picture of lines 264-274 could be, at least for the king himself, a reference to rites with which he was intimately familiar. For possible influence of Egyptian matters on Call. see above, 260 n., and *Introd.*, ch. 2.1.6ff.

265. ἐν δ' ἐβάλευ: for the tmesis (also in *H.* 1, 84 and 3, 112) cf. *Il.* 7, 176* and 24, 787* ἐν δ' ἔβαλον, and see above, 209 n. For the ending -ευ cf. *Od.* 12, 218 βάλλευ, 22, 103 ἀμφιβαλεῦμαι, Thgn. 1050 βάλευ, and see above, 146 n.

κόλποισιν: for the plural cf. *Il.* 9, 570, *h.Cer.* 238, Pi. *O.* 6, 31, E. *Hl.* 1145, etc. For the different uses of κόλπος in *Delos* see above, lines 42, 86 and 214.

ἔπος δ' ἐφθέγξατο τοῖον: for the uncommon use of φθέγγομαι and τοῖον ἔπος in speech formulae see *Introd.*, ch. 3.2.1 (a). There is a remarkable resemblance to Hdt. 5, 106, 3 (≅ 7, 103, 1) κοῖον ἐφθέγξαο ἔπος: both may have been inspired by a common epic or Tragic source. See Führer, *Formproblemunters.*, 34 n. 72.

266f. After Wilamowitz comparing Delos—formerly so insignificant, now so glorious—with Bethlehem, Mc Kay characterized in the same biblical vein Asteria's speech here as 'The *Magnificat* of Delos.' There is, however, a striking difference between the two eulogies, for Asteria utters no word of welcome or thanks at all to Apollo, but completely concentrates on her own new glorious position; and this in contrast to the description of her practical activities as described in 1.6 (λοῦσέ τε καὶ σπείρωσε καὶ ὡς θεὸν ᾔνεσε πρώτη). It is curious that none of these is referred to here any more; Schneider tried to 'save' at least αἰνέω by reading ὦ μέγαλε in 1.266, which would then refer to Apollo. Apart from the metrical difficulty this is highly improbable, since in that case φέρουσα has to be adapted too (Schneider proposes φέρουσαι or φέρουσι), and especially because 'with many altars and cities' is a very strange qualification for Apollo.

In Theoc. 17, 66ff., a comparable speech is made by Cos to the new-born Philadelphus, in which she expresses her hope that the king will honour her as much as Apollo loved Delos, Rheneia and Triopos.

The fact that a speech by Asteria ends the mythical section of the hymn is in conformity with the tendency within the Homeric hymns to end the Myth with the words of the god. See R. Janko, *art. cit.* (1 n.), 14, referring to *h.Ap.*, *h.Ven.* and *h.Hom.* 7.

266. ὦ μεγάλη: the subsequent epitheta make evident that γῆ is addressed here. For Gaia Megale in cult cf. Paus. 1, 31, 4; γαῖα μεγάλη is found in Hes. *Th.* 622, Sol. fr. 36, 4 (superl.), Ba. 5, 24, and E. fr. 839, 1 (superl.). See S. Eitrem, *RE* VII (1912), 473, and the literature cited by Pfeiffer *ad loc.* For the accumulation of vocatives cf. *Il.* 6, 305 πότνι' Ἀθηναίη, ἐρυσίπτολι, δῖα θεάων. See also Reinsch-Werner, *Call. hes.*, 291 ("eine vierfache, in jauchzendem Stakkato vorgetragene Prädikation der Göttin").

πολύβωμε, πολύπτολι: both compounds appear here for the first time (the second one also in *H.* 3, 225, see Bornmann's note). For a list of Calli-

machean πολυ-compounds see McLennan, *Zeus*, 58. For the combination of two of these compounds cf. *Il.* 5, 613 πολυκτήμων πολυλήιος, 9, 154 *al.* πολύρρηνες πολυβοῦται, *h.Cer.* 31 πολυσημάντωρ πολυδέγμων, A. *Pe.* 83 πολύχειρ καὶ πολυναύτης, etc. See Fehling, *Wiederholungsfig.*, 247; Chantraine, *RPh* 27 (1953), 17.

φέρουσα: *Il.* 3, 425*, 18, 617*, *Od.* 1, 136*, etc., but nowhere denoting fertility; for φέρω = 'bring forth, produce' cf. *Od.* 4, 229; 9, 131, Hes. *Op.* 117, and the compound πολυφόρος Pl. *Leg.* 705 b.

267. πίονες: cf. *Il.* 23, 832 πίονες ἀγροί, etc. The epithet serves to stress the contrast with Delos' barrenness, expressed by δυσήροτος in the next line. The same contrast is described in the Homeric hymn to Apollo, cf. l. 48 (no country or island dared accept Apollo) καὶ πιοτέρη περ ἐοῦσα, and 72 ἐπεὶ ἦ κραναήπεδός εἰμι (Delos, on herself).

ἤπειροί τε καὶ ... νῆσοι: cf. Hes. *Th.* 964 νῆσοί τ' ἤπειροί τε, *h.Ap.* 21 ἠμὲν ἀν' ἤπειρον ... ἠδ' ἀνὰ νήσους, 138 νήσων ἠπείρου τε, and also in this hymn lines 62 and 66, *H.* 3, 37. Ἤπειροι here refers to Africa, Asia and Europe, cf. Pi. *P.* 9, 8 with schol., and the instances cited by West, *Theog.*, 421 (add E. *Ion* 1583).

αἵ περιναίετε νῆσοι: for ναίω with islands cf. *Il.* 2, 626 νήσων αἳ ναίουσι πέρην ἁλός, *Od.* 9, 22 f. ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆσοι / πολλαὶ ναιετάουσι, S. *Ai.* 597 ὦ Σαλαμίς, σὺ μέν που ναίεις ἁλιπλακτός. Περι- no doubt means 'around *me*', and not, as Cahen explains, 'near the continent' (*Comm.*, 205): for why should only these be addressed, and other islands not? At this very moment Asteria feels herself the centre of the world, and proudly presents herself to all her neighbours, islands and continents alike (in fact, αἵ περιναίετε goes ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with ἤπειροι too, just as πίονες also qualifies νῆσοι). Περιναίω only recurs in A. *Su.* 1021, περιναιετάω being more common, cf. *Od.* 4, 177 αἵ περιναιετάουσιν. For the variety in expressions denoting islands cf. above, lines 3, 153 f., 168 and 196.

268. αὕτη: a quite convincing emendation by Ernesti of the MSS reading αὐτή, cf. *Od.* 16, 205 ἀλλ' ὅδ' ἐγὼ τοιόσδε, and above, l. 132 ἠνίδ' ἐγώ and 213 αὕτη τοι, φίλε, νῆσος.

δυσήροτος: *hapax eiremenon*, cf. *Od.* 9, 123* ἀνήροτος. For this qualification of Delos see *h.Ap.* 72 κραναήπεδος, 529 οὔτε τρυγηφόρος ἥδε γ' ἐπήρατος οὔτ' εὐλείμων, and possibly ἄτροπος in l. 11 above. Mc Kay points out (*Erys.*, 184) that ἀρόω and its derivatives have sexual connotations, cf. S. *Ant.* 569, *OR* 1256, etc., and that l. 37 f. (cf. 247 f.) have made clear that Asteria was not 'ploughable' in that sense of the word either.

'Small, but fertile' becomes a literary *topos* after Homer (cf. *Od.* 9, 27 τρηχεῖ', ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος, and also 4, 601 ff.; 13, 242 ff.). See Kienzle, *o.c.* (11 n.), 61 f., referring to Sim. 591, Pi. *pae.* 4, 21 ff.; 5, 14, etc.

ἀπ' ἐμεῖο: for the use of ἀπό here cf. Th. 1, 46 Ἀχέρων ποταμὸς ... ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχει.

269. Δήλιος: Apollo bears this epithet in S. *Ai.* 704, *OR* 154, E. *Rh.* 224, Pi. *pae.* 5, 1 *al.*, Ba. 17, 130, Th. 1, 13, 6. See Wernicke, *RE* II, 48; Nilsson, *GGR* I, 552f. There is no sense in asking, of course, how Asteria knows of this epithet already (for the anachronism cf. above, 256 n.). Deities evidently may know the future or not, according to the poet's fancy.

The aetiological explanation of Apolline cult-epithets is an essential feature already in the Homeric hymn, cf. 1. 373 (Πύθιος) and 400 (Δελφίνιος): see J. Defradas, *Les thèmes de la propagande delphique* (Paris 1954), 63ff. For a possible reference in this hymn to Delphinios see above, 86 n.

Ἀπόλλων: on the scansion see above, 24 n.

κεκλήσεται: Thgn. 1203* (cf. *h.Merc.* 292* and *h.Ven.* 148* κεκλήσεαι), and often in Tragedy: A. *Pr.* 734 Βόσπορος δ' ἐπώνυμος κεκλήσεται, 840 ὁ πόντιος μυχὸς ... Ἰόνιος κεκλήσεται, E. *El.* 1275 ἐπώνυμος δὲ σοῦ πόλις κεκλήσεται, etc. See Schwyzer I, 783.

269f. οὐδέ τις ἄλλη / γαιάων: cf. *Od.* 12, 403f.* = 14, 301f. οὐδέ τις ἄλλη / φαίνετο γαιάων, 15, 407* οὐδέ τις ἄλλη, and also *Il.* 16, 225* *al.*

270. πεφιλήσεται: a 'Perfektfuturum' (Schwyzer I, 783) not elsewhere attested, and according to Kuiper *ad loc.* modelled by analogy with *Il.* 24, 158* (= 187*) πεφιδήσεται. Influence of the foregoing κεκλήσεται, however, should not be ruled out either.

For φιλέω of divinities showing preference for some city or place cf. *h.Ap.* 138, Hes. fr. 240, 5, Ba. 4, 1, and the adjective θεοφιλής in Pi. *I.* 6, 66, *Ne.* 10, 2, Ba. 10, 60, A. *Eu.* 869, etc. To be loved by a god or goddess means luck or strength, cf. *Il.* 5, 117, *h.Cer.* 486f., Hes. *Th.* 96, etc.: see Keyssner, *Gottesvorst.*, 67f.

271f. οὐ ... οὐ ... οὐ ...: cf. *Od.* 24, 246f. οὐ φυτόν, οὐ συκέη, οὐκ ἄμπελος, οὐ μὲν ἐλαίη, / οὐκ ὄγχνη, οὐ πρασιή. For a comparable three-fold comparison in Theocritus see above, 166f. note.

It is perhaps not quite accidental that of the three places mentioned as being in some respect inferior to Asteria, none belongs to Ptolemaic territory: Corinth was guarded by a garrison of Antigonus Gonatas (see Will I, 90f. and 187), while the Peloponnese and Crete were independent (see Will I, 130).

271. Κερχνίς: *sc.* γῆ. It probably denotes the country around Κεγχρεαί, the eastern harbour of Corinth on the Saronic gulf, cf. Th. 8, 10, 1. The adjective does not occur elsewhere: "Κερχνίς hat Kall. ... wohl nach dem Vorgang von Aischylos' Κερχνεία (*Pr.* 676) gewagt," says Bölte, *RE* XXI, 1, 167. For the *metathesis* cf. also the doublet κέγχρος ~ κέρχνος ('millet') mentioned in Chantr., *Dict. Ét.*, 508 A.

On the cult of Poseidon in Cenchreae hardly anything is known: Paus. 2, 2, 3 only mentions the presence of a bronze statue of the god in that town. The three-fold climax thus certainly starts with an obscure object of comparison, even when taking into account that the audience must have associated Cerchnis immediately with the nearby and more important city of Corinth. Wilamowitz' objection (*HD* II, 74 n. 2) that Cerchnis does not quite fit the comparison, since it cannot claim to have been Poseidon's birthplace (cf. Hes. *Th.* 453 ff.), whereas Cyllene and Crete are the birthplace of Hermes and Zeus respectively, is of no importance, since it is mainly the 'amount of divine love' that is under discussion here.

κρείοντι: with Ἐνοσίχθων added also in *Il.* 8, 209; 13, 10, *al.* said of Poseidon; without this qualification Homer uses Ποσειδάωνι / ἄνακτι, cf. *Od.* 3, 43, 54, etc.

Λεχαίῳ: Λέχαιον was the northern harbour of Corinth (some seven miles away from Cenchreae), cf. Simon. fr. 545, 3, X. *Hell.* 4, 4, 12, Strab. 8, 6, 22, etc. Asteria's excitement entices her to strange utterances, for to say that 'no country will be dearer to the Lord of Lechaeum than Cerchnis' is almost as absurd as saying 'no place is dearer to the Blessed Virgin of Fatima than Lourdes.'

For the Poseidon cult in Lechaeum cf. Paus. 2, 2, 3, who mentions a sanctuary with an iron statue of the god: see Kock, *RE* XII, 1055; Zschietzschmann, *RE* Suppl. V, 544 f. The MSS reading being confirmed now by *P.Oxy.ined.* (see Pfeiffer's *apparatus*), correction to Λεχαίου is unnecessary. See already Schneider, 319 f. (against Hemsterhuis, Blomfield and Ernesti).

272. πάγος ... Κυλλήνιος: cf. A. *Eu.* 690 πάγος ... Ἄρειος, E. *Cyc.* 95 Αἰτναῖον πάγον.

Ἑρμείῃ: this form of the dative is found also in Hes. fr. 66, 4, the common one being Ἑρμῇ, cf. *Od.* 14, 435, *h.Merc.* 497, Hes. *Th.* 444. On the Ionic form see West, *Theog.*, 80, with n. 3.

Κυλλήνιος: *Od.* 24, 1*, *h.Merc.* 318*, 387*, but said there of Hermes himself, as it is used also elsewhere. As an epithet of the mountain it is found in S. *Ai.* 695 f. Κυλλανίας ... ἀπὸ δειράδος (see Jebb's note). On Hermes and the Cyllene see E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen* (München 1969), 269 ff., and Pl. 201.

οὐ Διὶ Κρήτη: for Zeus and Crete see Cook, *Zeus* II, 2, 932 ff. (on Zeus Idaios); R. F. Willets, *Cretan Cults and Festivals* (London 1962), 199 ff.; West, *Theog.*, 297 f.

273. ὡς: answering τοσσόνδε, cf. *Il.* 22, 424 τόσσον ... ὡς, *Od.* 21, 402 τοσσοῦτον ... ὡς.

Ἀπόλλωνι: 24 n.

καὶ ἔσσομαι οὐκέτι πλαγκτή: cf. *H.* 2, 11 καὶ ἐσσόμεθ' οὔποτε λιτοί, with Williams' note. No details about the actual fixing of Delos are given, the event being described already in lines 53f. It is quite impossible that, like δυσήροτος in l. 268, πλαγκτή too has a sexual connotation here, as Mc Kay puts it (*Erys.*, 185). The idea of Asteria as a 'vagrant lady' in the sense of 'woman of the streets' is completely incongruous with Asteria's modest character as demonstrated in lines 37f., and so highly appreciated by Hera in 247f. See Cl. Meillier, *o.c.* (*Introd.*, ch. 2, 1 n. 1), 313 n. 63. Mc Kay's suggestion that within the grotesque concept of a nymph who is at the same time an island nearly everything is possible is unacceptable: even within a fantastic concept some logic remains necessary.

For ἔσσομαι cf. *Il.* 10, 324*, 17, 180*; for πλαγκτή cf. the Πλαγκταί mentioned in *Od.* 12, 61 and 23, 327, and the adjective πολύπλαγκτος in 17, 425, etc. For οὐκέτι + adjective see also above, 53 n.

274. ὧδε σὺ μὲν κατέλεξας: for the speech formula see *Introd.*, ch. 3.2.1 (b).

ὁ δὲ γλυκὺν ἔσπασε μαζόν: the impact of Asteria's lofty speech is humorously undone by the picture of the babe Apollo feasting upon the nymph's milk, a reference to Delos' function as Apollo's τιθήνη mentioned in l. 10 above. One can only agree with Wilamowitz: "Diese Kürze ist geradezu genial." (*HD* II, 74). For a comparable laconicism see *H.* 3, 86 ἄφαρ δ' ὡπλίσσαο, δαῖμον (after the elaborate picture of Artemis in the workshop of the labouring Cyclopes), with Bornmann's note on p. LI.

Callimachus' version differs here from that of the Homeric hymn, cf. *h.Ap.* 123ff. οὐδ' ἄρ' Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορα θήσατο μήτηρ, / ἀλλὰ Θέμις νέκταρ τε καὶ ἀμβροσίην ... / ... ἐπήρξατο. For possible influence on Call. of Egyptian rituals concerning the king that may be the reason for the alteration see above, 264 n.

ἔσπασε: for μάστον σπάω cf. Arist. *HA* 587 a 33; for σπάω only ('draw, suck in') cf. A. *Ch.* 533 ὥστ' ἐν γάλακτι θρόμβον αἵματος σπάσαι, E. *Cyc.* 417 ἔσπασέν ⟨τ'⟩ ἄμυστιν ἑλκύσας, with Ussher's note. Cf. further *H.* 1, 48 σὺ δ' ἐθήσαο πίονα μαζόν with McLennan's note, and Theoc. 3, 16 μαζὸν ἐθήλαζεν.

275-324. Origin and nature of certain Delian cults and rituals. 'Being Apollo's nurse, your island is most sacrosanct: war and death are to be held far from you. But every year from all parts of the world firstlings are sent to you, among which those of the Hyperboreans, passed on from city to city, until they arrive at Delos. To the maidens who in the dim past first brought these to you, the Delian youths still regularly offer their hair. Every night, Asteria, your island is full of song and dance, and the holy image of Aphrodite, once set up by Theseus, is crowned with wreaths. At your island,

Asteria, every sailor goes ashore when he passes by, to perform an amusing ritual near the holy olive-tree.'

While the individual rites described or hinted at in this section have been widely commented on, hardly anybody has speculated on the poet's motive for inserting them here. Part of the motivation can be found in the wish to imitate the Homeric hymn to Apollo, in which the description of the Ionian festival on Delos occupies some twenty lines (146-164), and also in Alcaeus' *Hymn to Apollo* room was made for the description of choirs and sacrifices brought forward in honour of the god. (For such a 'Prolongation' as a traditional element in the Homeric hymns see *Introd.*, ch. 1.2.2f.). Since, however, this seems not quite enough of a reason, especially in view of the considerable extent of the section, I have proposed in ch. 2.1 of the *Introduction* to read *Delos* as Callimachus' "maiden-poem", composed for recitation in the Museum on the occasion of Ptolemy's birthday, in which the young poet in an elegant way expressed his thanks to the king for his recent admission to the Museum. Much in the curious collection of rites etc. in this section then becomes understandable: the ἀμφιετεῖς ἀπαρχαί of l. 278 may refer to the usual gifts sent to the Ptolemies on their birthday; the rites of passage of the Delian youths (269ff.) and of the mariners (316ff.) to the poet's own situation as a freshman in the Museum-community, and the mentioning of Κύπρις (l. 308) to Arsinoe, who as the King's sister and Queen naturally would have wished to obtain her share of the honours bestowed upon Philadelphus. Other elements, such as the *Geranos*, may contain a reference to Egyptian royal festivals.

In short: after the mythical section, Call. continues with a ritual one in accordance with the traditional hymn-pattern. The criterium for selecting the various items was mainly the possibility they presented for alluding to the situation and the events of the time of composition. The audience of the day, being quite familiar with these, would have had no difficulty at all in bringing home the various allusions.

275. νησάων: the curious genitive plural form from l. 66 is repeated here.

ἁγιωτάτη: ἅγιος occurs mainly in Ionic and Attic prose, ἁγνός being used in epic and Tragedy. Bruneau (*Recherches*, 52) supposes that the word was chosen with a view to the taboos of war and death mentioned in the next lines; but ἅγιος is not the regular word to denote purity, since it generally characterizes things that are equal to a god's dignity. See L. Moulinier, *Le pur et l'impur dans la pensée des Grecs* (Paris 1952), 281; É. des Places, *La religion grecque* (Paris 1969), 364. In fact, there is hardly any difference between ἅγιος and ἱερός in l. 3 above.

ἐξέτι κείνου: cf. *Il.* 9, 106 ἐξ ἔτι τοῦ, *Od.* 8, 245* ἐξέτι πατρῶν, Call. *H.* 2, 47 εἰσέτι καὶ νῦν (also in an aetiological context; see A. H. Griffiths, *BICS* 17, 1970, 34).

276. κλῄζῃ: the verb is found in all genres except ancient epic, cf. e.g. E. *Hl.* 1441 ὦ Ζεῦ, πατήρ τε καὶ σοφὸς κλῄζῃ θεός.

Ἀπόλλωνος κουροτρόφος: only now can we fully gauge the impact of these words, which occurred in the same *sedes* in l. 2 above. The words could be taken either as a vocative, or, more probably, as a predicative adjunct liable to a causal interpretation, as in the English 'being nurse of Apollo's youth'.

For the device of starting and ending a rounded section of the hymn with the same or nearly the same words see *Introd.*, ch. 1.3.3.

Ἐνυώ: *Il.* 5, 333*, 592*. Here, as in *Il.* 5, 592, Enyo and Ares are named together representing different aspects of war. The doublet has given offence, though: Schneider once supposed (*Philol.* 6, 1851, 505, cf. Maas, *Kleine Schriften*, 84) that the original text had been Ἐλευθώ (= Εἰλείθυια), in accordance with Th. 3, 104, 2: (the Athenians, after having purified Delos) τὸ λοιπὸν προεῖπον μήτε ἐναποθνήσκειν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ μήτε ἐντίκτειν. After Apollo's birth and the singing of the hymn to Eileithyia, however, this is clearly most inapt ("ein böser Missgriff", Wilamowitz, *HD* II, 74 n. 3).

The sacrosanctity of the island was respected in 490 B.C. by the Persian commander Datis (cf. Hdt. 6, 97), the custom perhaps dating from time immemorial. See Tarn-Griffith, *Hell. Civ.*, 82.

277. Ἀίδης: for the death caveat on Delos cf. Thucydides quoted above; the connexion with war is self-evident (cf. e.g. Semon. 1, 13 f. τοὺς δ' Ἄρει δεδμημένους / πέμπει μελαίνης Ἀΐδης ὑπὸ χθονός). When nevertheless someone died on the island, a pig had to be sacrified (cf. *IG* 199 A 50, 274 B.C.), while drowned sailors cast ashore only had to be removed (cf. *IG* 145, 8 f., 302 B.C.). In fact, apart from those of some heroes and heroines no graves were found on Delos. See Bruneau, *Recherches*, 48 ff.

ἵπποι ... Ἄρηος: the plural proves that war-horses are meant by this expression, the god's own horses having been referred to in the quite exceptional dual: see above, 64 n. Horses were admitted on Delos for non-war purposes, as e.g. for the ἱπποδρομίαι mentioned in Thuc. 3, 104, 6: see Bruneau, *o.c.*, 67. For the unsuitability of Delos for horses cf. also above, l. 12.

ἐπιστείβουσιν: in *Il.* 11, 534 and 20, 498 f., στείβω is used to describe the trampling of horses on corpses and shields. The compound is found further only in S. *OC* 56 (of the treading upon sacred ground) and in Hellenistic poetry.

278. ἀμφιετεῖς: cf. *Aet.* fr. 186, 3 ἐτήσια, σὺν δ̣[ε]κ[α]τ[α]ί̣ῳ, with Pfeiffer's note. This fragment on the Hyperboreans is of constant interest for the passage in *Delos.*

Ἀμφιετής is not found elsewhere, but *SIG* 963, 7 (IV B.C.) has ἀμφετεί (cf. Suid. 153 Adler); see also *LSJ s.v.* ἀμφίετες (Moeris), ἀμφετίδαι

(Menand.) and ἀμφετηρίζομαι. For the formation see Schmitt, *Nom.* 122 n. 73 (perhaps = 'auf beiden Seiten das Jahr habend'); Kuiper (178 f.) also compares compounds like ἀμφήμερος (S. fr. 507) and ἀμφημερινός (Pl. *Ti.* 86 a).

On the possible allusion to presents offered to Philadelphus on the occasion of his birthday see above, 275 ff. note; *Introd.*, ch. 2.1.5. The direct reference, of course, is to the annual *Delia-Apollonia*, on which see Nilsson, *GF* 144 ff.

δεκατηφόροι ... ἀπαρχαί: '*primitiae quae constant vel fiunt oblata decima*' (Schneider, 321). Such combinations are frequent in Lyric poetry and Tragedy, cf. A. *Su.* 706 δαφνηφόροις ... τιμαῖς, *Pr.* 530 f. θοίναις ... βουφόνοις, E. *Alc.* 1156 βουθύτοισι προστροπαῖς, etc.: see above, 120 n. Elsewhere δεκατηφόρος is found only as a cult epithet for Apollo, cf. Paus. 1, 42, 5, and some inscriptions from an apparently unknown date mentioned by Jessen, *RE* IV, *s.v.* δεκατηφόρος. For δεκάται as offerings to the gods cf. X. *An.* 5, 3, 4 ff., Paus. 1, 28, 2, etc.: see Volkmann, *KlP* 1, 1438. That Delos in fact received gifts from all parts of the world is proved by a huge mass of epigraphical material: see Bruneau, *Recherches*, 93 ff. Φιάλαι from Alexandria have been dedicated on Delos from 274 B.C. onwards, see Bruneau, *o.c.*, 94.

αἰέν: regular *sedes* of the word, especially in the epic formula αἰὲν ἐόντες (-ας, -ων). For ἀεί to express the eternity of the god's cult cf. *h.Ap.* 87, 496, etc.: see Keyssner, *Gottesvorst.*, 42.

279. πᾶσαι δὲ χοροὺς ἀνάγουσι πόληες: cf. Thuc. 3, 104, 3 χορούς τε ἀνῆγον αἱ πόλεις, 6 ὕστερον δὲ τοὺς μὲν χοροὺς οἱ νησιῶται καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μεθ' ἱερῶν ἔπεμπον. For χορὸν ἀνάγειν cf. also Hes. *Sc.* 280, E. *Tr.* 325; χοροὺς ἱστάναι is more common, cf. Hdt. 3, 48, S. *El.* 280, E. *IA* 676, Pi. *P.* 9, 114, etc.

Πᾶσαι is an exaggeration here, since only part of the cities sent their own choir to Delos (as e.g. Athens, cf. X. *Mem.* 3, 3, 12, and the Cyclades, cf. Strab. 10, 5, 2), whereas others made use of the services of the local choir of Deliades, as appears from epigraphical evidence. See Bruneau, *o.c.*, 107 ff. (taking Callimachus' words too literally).

280 f. For this description of the four quarters cf. *Od.* 8, 29 ἠὲ πρὸς ἠοίων ἦ ἑσπερίων ἀνθρώπων, S. *OC* 1245 ff. αἱ μὲν ἀπ' ἀελίου δυσμᾶν, αἱ δ' ἀνατέλλοντος, αἱ δ' ἀνὰ μέσσαν ἀκτῖν', αἱ δ' ἐννυχιᾶν ἀπὸ Ῥιπᾶν, Hdt. 4, 100 τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσης τῆς ἠοίης ..., ... τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέρης ...

280. ἠοίην: *Od.* 4, 477*, but there with the meaning 'morning', as in *h.Merc.* 17, Hes. *Op.* 548, etc. (see West's note on the other epic form ἠῷος). Attic ἑῷος = 'eastern' in X. *HG* 4, 4, 9, Arist. *Pr.* 946 b 14, etc. For πρός + accusative in a comparable context cf. *Od.* 9, 26 πρὸς ζόφον, 13, 240 f. πρὸς ἠῶ τ' ἠέλιόν τε.

ἕσπερον: according to Kuiper (179), this depends on the following ἀνά, cf. *Od.* 12, 27 ἢ ἁλὸς ἢ ἐπὶ γῆς, and Call. *H.* 2, 8 μολπήν τε καὶ ἐς χορόν. Here, however, it is far more natural to take it with the preceding πρός, the more so as ἠοίη and ἕσπερος are more related than ἕσπερος and μέσση.

ἀνὰ μέσσην: quite uncommon instead of πρὸς μεσημβρίαν (Hdt. 1, 142, etc.), but cf. S. *OC* 1247 ἀνὰ μέσσαν ἀκτῖν' etc. quoted above, and also Thgn. 839, Xenoph. B 1, 11 ἂν τὸ μέσον.

281. κλήρους ἐστήσαντο: 'cast their lots' (Mair), 'liegen' (Howald-Staiger), 'occupent / tiennent les terres' (Cahen). Schneider (321 f.) compares expressions like στήσασθαι βοήν / μάχην / ἅλμα, and so explains the phrase as 'having settled themselves'. Call. has two more peculiar expressions with ἵστημι / ἵσταμαι, cf. above, lines 173 and 185; Dobree's ἐκτήσαντο therefore seems unnecessary.

There is a possible reference here to the colonies that were founded by the Ptolemies throughout their Empire, named Arsinoe, Philadelphia, Ptolemais or Philoteria (see Tarn-Griffith, *Hell. Civ.*, 181), and to the κλῆροι that were allotted to ex-mercenaries in Egypt itself (*id.*, 188 f.). Those colonies no doubt joined in the general custom of sending presents to the king on the occasion of the anniversary festivities: see above, 278 n.

281 f. καθύπερθε βορείης / ... θινός: for βορειός (adj.) cf. S. *OC* 1240, Ba. 17, 6, Hdt. 6, 31, etc. (more common in prose). For καθύπερθεν + genitive in geographical sense cf. *Od.* 3, 170 καθύπερθε Χίοιο, 15, 404 'Ορτυγίης καθύπερθεν, Hdt. 1, 194 καθύπερθεν 'Ασσυρίων; without the genitive in [Aristeas] *Arimaspea* fr. 4, in a description of the Hyperboreans: καί φασ' (Hubmann: σφᾶς MSS) ἀνθρώπους εἶναι καθύπερθεν ὁμούρους / πρὸς βορέω. See J. D. P. Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus* (Oxford 1962), 17.

Call. here conforms to the ancient etymology of Ὑπερβόρειοι, cf. Pi. *O.* 3, 31 πνοιαῖς ὄπιθεν Βορέα, Hdt. 4, 36 Εἰ δέ εἰσι ὑπερβόρεοί τινες ἄνθρωποι, εἰσὶ καὶ ὑπερνότιοι ἄλλοι, Hecat. Abd. 264 FGH 7 ἀπὸ τοῦ πορρωτέρω κεῖσθαι τῆς βορείου πνοῆς. See Daebritz, *RE* IX 1, 260 f.; Nilsson, *GGR* I, 548 ff. By writing 'who have their homes *above* the Northern shore' Call. suggests that he localized them on some island, like Hecataeus of Abdera did (*l.c.*: φασιν ἐν τοῖς ἀντιπέρας τῆς Κελτικῆς τόποις κατὰ τὸν ὠκεανὸν εἶναι νῆσον), whereas according to Hdt. 4, 13 they lived in the northern coastal region.

In this context, θινός is suggestive of the word ἀκροθίνιον = '*primitiae*', so it is possible that word-play is intended here. The placing of θινός is remarkable, since here with an enjambement "a trochaic noun escapes to the second foot" (H. W. Prescott, *CP* 7, 1912, 45), which does not conform to Homeric usage.

282. οἰκία ... ἔχουσι: cf. *Il.* 16, 261 οἰκί' ἔχοντας, *Od.* 7, 68 οἶκον ἔχουσιν, Hes. *Th.* 64 οἰκί' ἔχουσιν, *h.Merc.* 555* οἰκία ναιετάουσιν.

πολυχρονιώτατον αἷμα: πολυχρόνιος is found first in *h.Merc.* 125; for the superlative cf. X. *Mem.* 1, 4, 16, Thphr. *Odor.* 38 (on Egyptian unguents). Being appositional to οἵ, αἷμα must mean 'stock' here, cf. *Od.* 4, 611, A. *Eu.* 89, Pi. *N.* 11, 34, E. *El.* 522, etc.; but whether πολυχρονιώτατον then refers to the antiquity of their race ('*gens vetustissima*', Schneider, followed by Howald-Staiger) or to their individual longevity (cf. Cahen, *Comm.* 207, quoting Strab. 15, 1, 57 περὶ δὲ τῶν χιλιετῶν Ὑπερβορέων) it is impossible to establish. The word certainly means 'very old' in *H.* 3, 132 and 5, 128.

283 f. καλάμην τε καὶ ἱερὰ δράγματα ... / ἀσταχύων: cf. Hdt. 4, 33 ἱρὰ ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν καλάμῃ πυρῶν, Call. *H.* 6, 19 f. καλάμαν τε καὶ ἱερὰ δράγματα πράτα / ἀστυχύων (a curious doublet), Paus. 1, 32, 2 τὰς δὲ ἀπαρχὰς κέκρυφθαι μὲν ἐν καλάμῃ πυρῶν, γιγνώσκεσθαι δὲ ὑπ' οὐδένων, *A.P.* 6, 225 (Nicaen.) δέξασθε Φιλήτιδος ἱερὰ ταῦτα / δράγματα καὶ χλωροὺς ἐκ καλάμης στεφάνους, / ἅσσ' ἀπὸ λικμητοῦ δεκατεύεται.

Δράγματα is not a further elaboration of καλάμην, as Kuiper (180) puts it, but the whole phrase equals ἀπαρχὰς κεκρυμμένας ἐν καλάμῃ πυρῶν (Schneider), the straw serving as a packing for the ears proper (for the collective use of καλάμη cf. *Il.* 19, 222, and see Chantr., *Dict. Ét.* 483 b). It is curious that the nature of the ἱερά, first established as agrarian by W. Mannhardt (*Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, Berlin 1877, 232 ff.), was unknown to Herodotus and Pausanias, whereas Call. specifies the ἀπαρχαί proper as δράγματα ἀσταχύων, drawing perhaps on Hecataeus. (The possibility should not be excluded, however, that Call. deliberately interpreted Herodotus' somewhat vague data in his own manner, since references to first-fruits suited his purpose in this section of the hymn: see *Introd.*, ch. 2.1.8.) In some Delian inscriptions of the fourth century B.C., the gifts are entered as 'sacred objects from the Hyperboreans', a description which probably would not have been used if the gifts had consisted of specific objects made from valuable material. The fact that in Delian inventory lists no reference at all is made to them also makes plausible that they would not have consisted of durable material: see Bruneau, *Recherches* 40. The suggestion of Krappe (*art. cit.* (249 n.), 358 f.) that the *primitiae* might have consisted of amber, is unlikely for the same reason; some remnants of it would have been found on the island, too. That the Hyperboreans were associated with amber is probably due to the fact that the route of the Hyperboreans at least partly coincided with the amber route: see N. L. Hammond, *Epirus* (Oxford 1967), 331; G. B. Biancucci, *Riv. Fil.* s. III, 101 (1973), 212 f.

καλάμην: *Il.* 19, 222, *Od.* 14, 214*; hardly elsewhere in poetry.

δράγματα: *Il.* 11, 69; 18, 552; later only in Attic prose and Hellenistic poetry.

284. ἀσταχύων: *h.Cer.* 456, cf. Hes. *Sc.* 290 σταχύων.

πρῶτοι: the word suggests that the Hyperboreans themselves brought their gifts to northern Greece for the Pelasgians to take over, without further intermediaries. For πρῶτοι at the end of the line see above, 6 n.

φορέουσιν: the present tense indicates that the *theoria* was still performed in the 3rd century B.C., its historicity being already established for the 5th and 4th century by Delian inscriptions. See J. Tréheux, in: *Studies Robinson* II (Missouri 1953), 758ff.; H. W. Parke, *The Oracles of Zeus* (Oxford 1967), 281; Bruneau, *Recherches*, 39ff.

If Call. had intended φορέουσιν to be an allusion to the Περφερέες, the five attendants of the maidens Hyperoche and Laodice mentioned in Hdt. 4, 33, as E. Secci argues (*RIL* 91, 1957, 844), he would perhaps rather have written φέρουσιν instead; in any case Call. could hardly have avoided using a verb of bearing in this context. For φορέουσιν see also above, line 170 and below, 299.

284 ff. In his description of the route of the offerings, Call. adheres rather closely to that of Herodotus, which runs as follows (4, 33): Hyperboreans—Scythians—from country to country westwards to the Adriatic, then southwards to Dodona (first Greek city)—Malian Gulf—on Euboea from town to town until Carystus—Tenos—Delos. Call. compresses the first rather obscure stages into τηλόθεν (l. 285), then mentions Dodona (πολὺ πρώτιστα), Malis (with the specification of Ira/Iros), the Lelantian plain between Chalcis and Eretria, and lastly, without further intermediate stage, Delos. He thus economizes in the number of stations, but elaborates those which he has singled out. Where he deviates, this may be due not to literary reasons, but to a factual alteration of the route since the time of Herodotus: indeed, another route is known from Pausanias 1, 31, 2, which because of the insertion of Sinope and Prasiae reveals itself as an Athenian variant, introduced probably after 436 B.C., in which year Sinope had become an Athenian colony (see J. B. Bury, *History of Greece*, London 1956, 381), but abandoned again when Delos became independent in 314 B.C. Callimachus' description could then refer to the newly established route used from that year on. This is partly confirmed by a Delian inscription of 247 B.C., containing a reference to 'those of the Carystians who bring the sacred objects.' Here the Carystians appear to have come to Delos directly, without any intermediary station, just as Call. describes in lines 289f. See Parke, *o.c.*, 281.

Bruneau, *Recherches* 41, presents a convenient (though not completely accurate) tableau of the three above versions of the route of the offerings; he could have added the one in Call. fr. 186, defective though it may be: Rhipaean mountains—Arimaspians—Pelasgians, Dodona—Malian Gulf (if Barber and Maas are right: see Pfeiffer, *Call.* II, 117).

284. Δωδώνηθε Πελασγοί: 'the Pelasgians from Dodona'. Homer always adds a participle in such expressions, cf. *Il.* 13, 363 'Οθρυονῆα Καβησόθεν ... ἐόντα, 15, 438 Μαστορίδης ... Κυθηρόθεν ... ἐόντα; it is also omitted, however, in Plat. *epigr.* 16 D.-B. Σαπφὼ Λεσβόθεν. On -θε instead of epic -θεν see above, 197 n. For Pelasgians in Dodona cf. Hes. fr. 319 Δωδώνην φηγόν τε, Πελασγῶν ἕδρανον, *Il.* 16, 223 Ζεῦ ἄνα, Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικέ. See F. Lochner-Hüttenbach, *Die Pelasger* (Graz 1960), 99 ff.; Parke, *o.c.*, 3 ff.; Hammond, *o.c.* (283 n.), 371.

285. τηλόθεν ἐκβαίνοντα: 'stepping out from afar', ἐκβαίνειν suggesting that in Callimachus' view the gifts were brought in some kind of vehicle, or that they arrived from overseas: in fact, a primitive trade route from the Adriatic coast through Epirus may have existed (see Hammond, *o.c.*, *l.c.*). That this would be inconsistent with the fact that Dodona was not the *very first* Greek settlement on the route, as Parke observes (*o.c.*, 283), may easily have been overlooked by Call. or his source.

Τηλόθεν ἐκβαίνοντα is a combination of τηλόθεν ἐκ in *Il.* 18, 208 and *Od.* 5, 283 with ἐκβαίνοντα in *Il.* 4, 107*, *Od.* 5, 415*, 7, 278* and 10, 161* (no other present form of the verb being in use in Homer). Τηλόθεν is remarkably vague in comparison with the versions of Herodotus, Pausanias and Call. himself in fr. 186: here nothing is heard about Rhipaean mountains, Arimaspi, Scythians or Issedones. See also above, 284 ff. note.

πολὺ πρώτιστα δέχονται: cf. Hdt. 4, 33 πρώτους Δωδωναίους ... δέκεσθαι, Call. fr. 186, 11 f. 'Ελλήν]ων τά γε πρῶτα Πελασγικο. [/ ἐξ 'Αριμα]σπείης δειδέχαται κο[μ]ι[δῆς. Πρώτιστα thus will be adverbial here, answered by δεύτερον in l. 287. For the rather strong πολὺ πρώτιστα there hardly seems to be a cogent reason, nor is there any, as a matter of fact, in *Il.* 14, 442 and *Od.* 14, 220. See Thesleff, *Intensif.*, 174 n. 1.

286. γηλεχέες θεράποντες ἀσιγήτοιο λέβητος: 'earth-bedded servants of the unsilent cauldron' (Parke), referring to *Il.* 16, 234 f. ἀμφὶ δὲ (*sc.* the sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona) Σελλοὶ / σοὶ ναίουσ' ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιεῦναι.

For the arrangement of the four word line cf. *Il.* 16, 865* ἀντίθεον θεράποντα ποδώκεος Αἰακίδαο, *Od.* 4, 23* = 217* ὀτρηρὸς θεράπων Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο. In *Delos*, given these clichés, the vessel of course comes out as a surprise. For γηλεχέες θεράποντες cf. further *Il.* 7, 122* γηθόσυνοι θεράποντες, *Od.* 4, 38 ὀτρηροὺς θεράποντας.

The absolute *hapax eiremenon* γηλεχής has become the show-piece of Callimachean Homer-variation: see Herter, *RE* Suppl. V, 448; Schmitt, *Nom.* 123 n. 84 (with full references). Sophocles already introduced a variant χαμαικοίτης (*Tr.* 1166, with Jebb's note); for other Greek compounds with -λεχής (e.g. ὀρειλεχής, Empedocles), see Chantr., *Dict. Ét.*, 634 A.

ἀσιγήτοιο λέβητος: the Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον, which was proverbial in Greek as a comparison for the talkative, in its first stage probably consisted of a circular row of resounding tripods standing close together around the sacred enclosure, later (perhaps from the 4th century B.C. onward) an arrangement with two columns, one supporting a bronze cauldron, the other the image of a boy with a whip, the bronze lashes of which struck against the vessel in consequence of the wind. See A. B. Cook, "The Gong at Dodona," *JHS* 22 (1902), 5 ff.; *Zeus* II (Cambridge 1925), 214, 826; Parke, *o.c.* (284 n.), 86 ff. (erroneously quoting *Delos* as '*Hymn to the Delian Apollo*' on p. 90, and as '*h.Ap.*' in n. 25).

The epithet may be a Callimachean formation, modelled by analogy with ἀτίμητος ~ τιμή and the like. See Schmitt, *Nom.* 61 n. 9.

287. δεύτερον: *Il.* 3, 191*, 332*, 6, 184*, 11, 19*, etc., in Homer always followed by αὖ or αὖτε. For πρῶτον ... δεύτερον cf. *Il.* 3, 32; 6, 184, A. *Ch.* 1070, E. *Hc.* 988, etc.

Ἴριον ἄστυ: the MSS here mention a mysterious ἱερὸν ἄστυ not listed in any of the other versions. Biancucci, *art. cit.* (283 f. note), 215, demonstrates that this town could be identified with Ambracia and its Hieron Oros, a view supported by Hammond, *o.c.* (283 n.), 367 n. 2. It is improbable, however, that Call., who is economizing on the traditional number of stations of the route, should here introduce a new intermediate stage of his own, and in such obscure terms at that; moreover, Ambracia and Malis, lying quite a distance apart, cannot be listed simultaneously under the heading δεύτερον. This objection does not hold for the theory of Y. Bequignon, cited by Ch. Picard (*RHR* 132, 1947, 98 ff.) that the city meant is Anthela, boasting a sanctuary of Demeter Amphictionis near the Malian Gulf. But why the obscure circumscription 'holy city', the other stations being so clearly indicated? Pfeiffer's correction Ἴριον ἄστυ does away with all those difficulties, the city of Ira or Iros lying within Malian territory: see Stählin, *RE* XIV 1, 902 and Pfeiffer's *apparatus*. Cf. further *Aet.* fr. 186, 13 ἔνθεν] ἐπὶ πτόλιάς τε καὶ οὔ[ρεα Μαλίδος αἴης (with the supplements of Barber-Maas: see Pfeiffer, *Call.* II, 117). Callimachus' use of the circumscription of a town's name by ἄστυ + the ethnic adjective is perhaps a straight imitation of Antimachus, cf. fr. 28, 2 Wyss Δύμιον ἄστυ. With ἄστυ the digamma was already neglected in *Il.* 11, 733 and 18, 274: see *LfgrE*, cols. 1451 ff.

Μηλίδος αἴης: cf. *Il.* 2, 162* = *Od.* 1, 203* πατρίδος αἴης, *Od.* 13, 249 Ἀχαιΐδος ... αἴης, A. *Pe.* 59 Περσίδος αἴης, E. *Hc.* 450 Δωρίδος αἴης, etc.

288. κεῖθεν δέ: *Il.* 21, 42*, *Od.* 1, 285*, 13, 278*.

διαπλώουσιν: διαπλώω is found only in Hellenistic poetry (A.R., Nic., *A.P.*), διαπλέω being Attic (Pl., Lys.). See also above, 36 n., 213 n.

'Αβάντων: *Il.* 2, 541* = 4, 464* = Hes. fr. 204, 53*; see further above, 20 n.

289. ἀγαθὸν πεδίον Ληλάντιον: the plain between Chalcis and Eretria, cf. *h.Ap.* 220 ἐπὶ Ληλάντῳ πεδίῳ, Thgn. 892 Ληλάντου δ' ἀγαθὸν ... οἰνόπεδον. The adjectival Ληλάντιος is not found elsewhere; for the circumscription cf. above, l. 138 πεδίον Κραννώνιον and 178 πεδία Κρίσσαια. For ἀγαθός 'fertile' cf. *Od.* 9, 27; 13, 246; 15, 405.

289 f. οὐδ' ἔτι μακρός etc.: the words imply that the offerings were brought straight from Euboea to Delos; γείτονες otherwise would not make sense (see above, 50 n.). So while in the route described by Herodotus Andros was for an unknown reason passed by, in Hellenistic times evidently Tenos was not called at either: cf. the Delian inscription concerning sacred objects brought by the Carystians mentioned above, 248 ff. note.

290. ὁ πλόος: ὁ at the beginning of the line is found in Homer only twice, with ξεῖνος (*Od.* 8, 541; 19, 99).

Εὐβοίηθεν: 197 n.

γείτονες ὅρμοι: *Batrach.* 67 γείτονας ὅρμους probably imitates Call., not the reverse. For the date of the *Batrachomyomachia* see Pfeiffer, *Ausgewählte Schriften* (München 1960), 113 with n. 41. For γείτων see further above, 50 n.

291. In his version of the origin of the Hyperborean custom Call. is again simplifying the account of Herodotus, who distinguishes two 'mythical' expeditions: first that of Arge and Opis ἅμα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι (4, 35), and later the one of Hyperoche and Laodice with the five Περφερέες, bringing gifts as a tribute to Eileithyia (4, 33; on the distinction between these two groups see especially W. Sale, *HTR* 54, 1961, 75 ff.). Call. condenses the two *theoriai* into one: from the second one he borrows the accompanying youths, but the names of the maidens resemble rather those of the first journey, viz. Upis (~ Opis), Hecaerge (~ Arge), plus the otherwise quite unknown Loxo. A. Świderek, *Journ. Jur. Pap.* 4 (1950), 344, speculatively supposes the hymns of Olen (cf. below, 304 n.) to have been the source for both Herodotus and Call. But it is not a likely procedure to look for a common source when the accounts are so strikingly different; it seems more probable that Call. drew on Hecataeus of Abdera and the Epic *Epigoni*, referred to by Hdt. 4, 32, but apparently not used by the latter. See further Nilsson, *GGR* I, 548 ff.; Bruneau, *Recherches*, 45 ff.; Bolton, *o.c.* (281 f. note), 22 f.

πρῶται: the feminine is quite right, of course, since the maidens were the bearers proper, the boys being only attendants, cf. Hdt. *l.c.*

ἔνεικαν: *Il.* 13, 213*.

ἀπὸ ξανθῶν 'Αριμασπῶν: the conclusion seems inevitable that Call. identified the Hyperboreans with the Arimaspi like Antimachus did, cf. fr. 103

Wyss, and see Pfeiffer on *Aet.* fr. 186, 12; Jacoby, 264 FGH 8 note; Bolton, *o.c.*, 23. Schneiders explanation that ἀπὸ ξανθῶν Ἀριμασπῶν would only indicate that the *theoria* started at the boundary between the Hyperboreans and the Arimaspians should be rejected. In *Aet.* fr. 186 Call. probably follows the Herodotean version (Hyperboreans—Arimaspi—Pelasgians), but that does not imply that the description in *Delos* could not be different.

The detail of the fairness of the Arimaspi is not mentioned in any of the other sources; Kranz' suggestion (104) that the epithet might refer to the Arimaspian river Πλούτων, which should have carried gold (cf. A. *Pr.* 805f.; *LfgrE* 1275), is really too far-fetched.

292. Οὖπίς τε Λοξώ τε καὶ εὐαίων Ἑκαέργη: for the pattern of the line cf. *Il.* 2, 498 Θέσπειαν Γραῖάν τε καὶ εὐρύχορον Μυκαλησσόν (cf. 497, 502, 532, 537, 561, 582, 606, etc.), *h.Ap.* 94 Ἰχναίη τε Θέμις καὶ ἀγάστονος Ἀμφιτρίτη, Hes. *Th.* 250 Δωρὶς καὶ Πανόπη καὶ εὐηδὴς Γαλάτεια, etc. See Wackernagel, *Kleine Schriften* I, 194; West, *Theog.*, 207; Fehling, *Wiederholungsfig.*, 312.

In other writers only two maidens are mentioned, viz. Ὦπις and Ἄργη in Hdt. 4, 35, and Ὦπις and Ἑκαέργη in a hymn of Melanopus of Cyrene mentioned by Paus. 5, 7, 7 and [Plat.] *Axioch.* 371 a. Two Hyperborean maidens are probably depicted on a Cycladic krater of the 7th century B.C. in the National Museum in Athens: see Nilsson, *Arch. Rel. wiss.* 16 (1913), 313; E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen* (München 1969), 126f. Jacoby (*o.c.*, 12 n.) supposes that the trias might have been suggested to Call. through the fact that, according to Hecataeus 264 FGH 12, in the Hyperborean cult of Apollo three sons of Boreas acted as priests.

Οὖπις: serves as a cult-epithet for the Ephesian Artemis in *H.* 3, 204 and 240, see Bornmann's note. The same form is found in Euphor. fr. 103 Pow. (cf. Pfeiffer on *Aet.* fr. 186, 27), while elsewhere the spelling is Ὦπις (see the above note). Originally, she may have been a hypostasis for Leto, in Ephesus associated with Artemis, and from there transferred to Delos, where she became a heroine: see Secci, *art. cit.* (284 n.), 846ff.; L. Radermacher, *RhM* n.F. 93 (1950), 326f.

Λοξώ: not found elsewhere; apparently a feminine pendant of Λοξίας, cf. Ἁγνώ ~ Ἁγνίας, Ἀργώ ~ Ἀργίας, etc. See Radermacher, *art. cit.*, 327. On the scansion τε̆ Λοξώ see *Introd.*, ch. 4.3.2 (4).

Ἑκαέργη: feminine counterpart of Ἑκάεργος, regular epithet of Apollo, but also the name of one of the heroes who succoured the Delphians during the attack of the Gauls in 279/8 B.C., cf. Paus. 1, 4, 4; 10, 23, 2 (the other hero's name, Laodokos, being the counterpart of the maiden's name Laodoke/-dike in Hdt. 4, 35; see Radermacher, *art. cit.*, 325).

εὐαίων: elsewhere only in Tragedy, cf. S. *Ph.* 829, *Tr.* 81, E. *Ion* 126, 142.

Schneider wanted to change it into εὐαίμων, since the future happiness of the members of the Hyperborean *theoria* is expressed already in l. 295 εὔμοιροι. However, εὐαίων, which of course belongs to the two other names as well (see Kuiper, 181), may refer to the girls' election as *theoroi*, just as the boys are characterized as ἄριστοι ἠιθέων.

293. Βορέαο: 26 n.
θυγατέρες: *Il.* 2, 492*, 24, 166*, *Od.* 3, 451*.
ἄρσενες: in early epic only said of gods and animals, see *LfgrE* 1353 f.; in Tragedy also of men, cf. A. *Ag.* 260, S. *OC* 339, E. *IT* 57, etc.

293 f. οἱ τότ' ἄριστοι / ἠιθέων: cf. *Od.* 23, 121 f. οἵ μέγ' ἄριστοι / κούρων, *Il.* 6, 314* οἱ τότ' ἄριστοι, 209 οἱ μέγ' ἄριστοι, S. *OR* 18 ᾐθέων λεκτοί. The words can also be taken as a nominal relative clause, in which case we should write οἵ, cf. *Il.* 11, 535 ἄντυγες αἵ περὶ δίφρον, 21, 353 ἰχθύες οἵ κατὰ δίνας. See Chantr. II, 4 and 166. For ἠιθέων in this *sedes* cf. *Il.* 4, 474 ἠίθεον.

294. οὐδ' οἵγε παλιμπετὲς οἴκαδ' ἵκοντο: cf. *Il.* 6, 189 τοὶ δ' οὔτι πάλιν οἰκόνδε νέοντο, *Od.* 4, 520* οἴκαδ' ἵκοντο (cf. 5, 27). For the Homerism παλιμπετές cf. *Il.* 16, 395*, *Od.* 5, 27* (παλιμπετὲς ἀπονέωνται), and see Bornmann's note on *H.* 3, 256; Pfeiffer on fr. 489; Schmitt, *Nom.*, 122 n. 74.
Neither here nor in any other version of the story are we told why the Hyperborean *theoroi* never went back. That it was explained in *Aet.* fr. 186, and that this was the very reason for Call. to give the subject a second treatment in the *Aetia*, as Świderek suggests (*art. cit.*, 291 n., 346), is of course mere speculation.

295. εὔμοιροι: 'well endowed by fortune', probably an euphemistic indication (hence the Scholiast's †εὔφημοι†, for which read εὐφήμως?) of the youths' death on Delos. The word is found previously in Ba. 5, 1 and Plato.
ἀκλεὲς οὔποτ' †ἐκεῖνοι: ἐκεῖνοι is utterly flat, not to say completely otiose. Wilamowitz' ἐκεῖναι (in his fourth edition of 1925, cf. Barber, *art. cit.* (41 n.), 229) is no better, since in the next four lines, which offer the explanation of their being never ἀκλεές, the Hyperborean boys and girls *both* appear to be the object of the hair cult. P. Maas, *H* 60 (1925), 259 (= *Kleine Schriften* 84), proposed κεῖνται, since the rites described in the next lines were performed at their graves (on which see below, 298 n.); with a view to the tense of ἵκοντο and ἐγένοντο, κεῖντο may be considered as well (Q. Cataudella, *Helikon* 7, 1967, 409). One could further think of οὔποτ' ἔσονται, cf. *Il.* 9, 413 ἀτὰρ κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔσται (for the combination ἐγένοντο + ἔσονται cf. *H.* 1, 93 with McLennan's note; Fehling, *Wiederholungsfig.* 265 ff.), or of οὔποτε κεῖθεν 'and they were famous ever since', cf. *Il.* 15, 234, Call. *H.* 2, 104. In any case, the tenor evidently is that of the epic phrase ὅου κλέος οὔποτ' ὀλεῖται in *Il.* 2, 325 and *h.Ap.* 156 (cf. *Od.* 24, 196, Thgn. 867, etc.).

ἀκλεές: *Il.* 7, 100. This singular neuter accusative used adverbially was sometimes misunderstood as a plural nominative: hence the MSS reading ἀκλέες. See Pfeiffer on fr. 489; *LfgrE* 416.

296. ἦ τοι: suspected by Pfeiffer, no doubt because (i) it is the only instance of τοι as a particle in Call., and (ii) the traditional explanation 'Verily, I tell you ...' (Denn.[2], 553) does not make sense here, since the rites described in 296 ff. were well known (cf. Hdt. 4, 34). In his *Index vocab.*, p. 167, Pfeiffer tentatively suggests reading ἦ γάρ. The better solution, however, is to write ἤτοι, which according to the ancient grammarians is an equivalent of preparatory μέν, the combination ἤτοι μέν or ἤτοι ... μέν being slightly more emphatic than the single ἤτοι, cf. *Il.* 14, 252 f. ἤτοι ἐγὼ μὲν ..., σὺ δέ ..., *Od.* 5, 153 ff. ἀλλ' ἦ τοι νύκτας μὲν ..., ἤματα δ' .... See C. J. Ruijgh, "L'emploi de ἤτοι chez Homère et Hésiode", *Mnem.* 34 (1981), 272 ff.

Δηλιάδες: here said of the girls of Delos, in 1.256 above of the nymphs of the Inopus, and in *h.Ap.* 157 as well as in Delian inventory lists of the maiden choir. See Bruneau, *Recherches*, 36.

εὐηχὴς ὑμέναιος: cf. A. *Sem.* fr. 355, 19 Mette εὐμόλποις ὑμ[εναίοις, E. *Ion* 884 ὕμνους εὐαχήτους, Pi. *P.* 2, 14 εὐαχέα ... ὕμνον. The last instance is considered by Schmitt, *Nom.* 123 n. 85, as Callimachus' source, but the compound may be older, of course, δυσηχής and πολυηχής being found already in Homer (*Il.* 2, 686; 4, 422, etc.). The whole phrase ὅτ' ... ὑμέναιος ... μορμύσσεται is a circumstantial poetic elaboration of Herodotus' prosaic πρὸ γάμου (4, 34).

297. ἤθεα κουράων: either 'the maiden's quarters' (Mair, cf. W. Sale, *art. cit.* (291 n.), 85), in accordance with Homeric usage, or 'the maidens' feelings, disposition', which is the post-Homeric meaning of ἤθεα: see above, 170 n. Call. may have intended the reader to think of both possibilities at the same time, though μορμύσσομαι 'alarm, disturb' (an adaptation *metri causa* of μορμολύττομαι? see Bornmann's note on *H.* 3, 70), being a verb of emotion, goes more naturally with ἤθεα = 'disposition'.

ἥλικα χαίτην: 'of the same age as the Hyperborean maidens', explains Schneider (p. 324), cf. Cahen, *Comm.*, 210: "Les Déliennes offrent leur *jeune* chevelure aux *jeunes* heroines." It is rather strange, however, to compare the age of the heroines (who are supposed to have died young on Delos, then) to the age of the maidens' hair. 'Of the same age as that of the other girls', suggests Calame, *Choeurs*, 66, comparing Pi. *P.* 3, 17 ἅλικες πάρθενοι (cf. Ar. *Th.* 1029 ff., E. *IT* 1143 ff.), a recherché way to denote the girls' coevity which is not impossible in Hellenistic poetry. But I prefer to understand 'of the same age as the girls themselves', *i.e.* 'never cut before', since in the case of pre-marital hair offerings it is for the first time that the maiden's hair is cut (at least officially); cf. also above, 1.81 ἥλικος ... δρυός (also with χαίτην at

the end of the line). For this rite of passage see S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer* (Kristiania 1914-5), 350 f., 363 ff.; Nilsson, *GGR* I, 136 f.; Hamdorf, *Kultpersonif.*, 125 n. 80. Herodotus more specifically describes the offerings as consisting of a πλόκαμος wound round a spindle.

298. παρθενικαῖς: the MSS have παρθενικαί here (cf. *Il.* 18, 567*, *Od.* 11, 39*), but a counterpart is needed to ἠιθέοισιν in l. 299 (for the combination cf. *Il.* 18, 567 παρθενικαὶ δὲ καὶ ἠΐθεοι). In Herodotus' account (4, 34), the offerings were brought to Hyperoche and Laodice, whose tomb was called the Sema. Callimachus' version is more in accordance with that of Pausanias (1, 43, 4), who relates that the offerings were brought to the tomb of Opis and Hecaerge (which he calls the Sema, whereas Hdt. speaks of the θήκη of Arge and Opis). The discrepancy may be due to a change in the Delian tradition: see Bruneau, *Recherches*, 47; Sale, *art. cit.* (291 n.), 85 f.

Both the Sema and the Theke were actually discovered on Delos: see Ch. Long, *AJA* 62 (1958), 297 ff. and the literature cited in Gallet de Santerre, *DPA* 93 n. 7 (with ground-plan on Pl. II).

θέρος: 'harvest', as in A. *Ag.* 1655, Pe. 822, E. *Ba.* 1026, 1315, Ar. *Eq.* 392, etc. In connexion with hair: S. fr. 659, 4 Pearson θέρος ... ξανθόν (of a foal's mane), *A.P.* 10, 19, 1 f. παρειάων πρῶτον θέρος; cf. κόμας ἀποθερίζω in E. *Hl.* 1188, *Or.* 128. For the word-order θέρος τὸ πρῶτον cf. *Il.* 13, 794 ἠοῖ τῇ προτέρῃ, 10, 11 πεδίον τὸ Τρωϊκόν, etc., see Chantr. II, 166.

ἰούλων: first downy growth of hair on the chin, cf. *Od.* 11, 319, A. *Se.* 534, Theoc. 15, 85 (πρᾶτον ἴουλον, see Gow's note), etc. See J. W. Fitton, *Glotta* 53 (1975), 228 ff.; McLennan, *Zeus*, 93.

In Herodotus, the boy's hair is referred to by τῶν τριχῶν, which without further addition generally denotes the hair of the head (but cf. A. *Pe.* 1056 γενείου θρίξ). Call. does not specify where the Hyperborean young men were buried, but his words suggest that the hair-offerings of the Delian boys were not laid on the same tomb as those of the girls, whereas according to Hdt. girls and boys alike brought their offerings to the Sema of Hyperoche and Laodike.

299. ἄρσενες: at first sight this seems rather otiose, since the masculine gender of παῖδες in l. 298 had been made sufficiently clear through the contrast with the foregoing as well as through ἰούλων. Since the hair-offering is a kind of rite of passage, however, the reference may be to the period of life in which the boys offer their beards, as a counterpart to l. 296 f. ὅτ' ... μορμύσσεται: ἄρσενες could then virtually mean 'when they have reached maturity', cf. *LSJ s.v.* ἀρρενότης 'manhood' and cognate words.

ἀπαρχόμενοι φορέουσιν: rounding off the *primitiae* episode by variation of the words used at the beginning, viz. δεκατηφόροι ἀπαρχαί (l. 278). For this device see *Introd.*, ch. 1.3.3. For ἀπάρχεσθαι with hair-offerings cf. *Od.* 14,

422 f. ἀλλ' ὅγ' ἀπαρχόμενος κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλεν / ἀργιόδοντος ὑός, E. *El.* 91 κόμης ἀπηρξάμην. For φορέουσιν see above, 284 n.

300. 'Ἀστερίη: in a hymn to Delos, the persistence of this name here and in l. 316 is remarkable. Perhaps Wilamowitz is right in noting "Der Göttername ist vornehmer" (*HD* II, 75): indeed, this section has a festive and lofty tone throughout. Anyway, the poet evidently wanted the audience not to forget his particular version of the myth presented in lines 36 ff.

θυόεσσα: Homeric *unicum* in *Il.* 15, 153 (of the cloud around Zeus), in *h.Cer.* 97, 318 and 490 applied to Eleusis, and said of an altar in Pi. fr. 75, 3 (cf. *pae.* 3, 8) and E. *Tro.* 1061 f. For Delos as 'island of incense' cf. *h.Ap.* 87 f. (θυώδης), Pi. *pae.* 2, 96 (εὔοδμος), etc. See Kienzle, *o.c.* (1 n.), 82; P. Roussel, *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos* (Paris-Nancy 1915-6), 286; Williams, *Apollo* 43.

σὲ μὲν περί τ' ἀμφί τε: the postposition is remarkable; elsewhere περί τ' ἀμφί τε is prepositional (cf. *Il.* 17, 760*) or adverbial (*h.Cer.* 276, Hes. fr. 150, 28, *Th.* 848 with West's note).

300 f. These lines present the statutory *aition* of the name of the Cyclades, cf. Dion. Per. 526 Δῆλον ἐκυκλώσαντο καὶ οὔνομα Κυκλάδες εἰσί, and see Bürchner, *RE* XI, 2309. Call. may have found the comparison of the islands with a choir in an older source, possibly the same one which inspired the painter of the cup in the former Czartoryski-collection, depicting dancing Maenads, two of whom bear the names of Delos and Euboea. See above, 16 n.

301. κύκλον ἐποιήσαντο: virtually = ἐκυκλώσαντο, cf. Hes. fr. 150, 28 περί τ' ἀμφί τε κυκλώσαντο, A. *Pe.* 457 f. ἀμφὶ δὲ / κυκλοῦντο πᾶσαν νῆσον (and possibly Call. fr. 260, 13 f.). For this type of circumscription with ποιεῖσθαι cf. *Od.* 21, 71, S. *El.* 302 (the use in Hdt. and Attic prose being far more common), and see Schwyzer II, 232. The circumscription is more evocative, of course, and prepares for the image of the χορός formed by the Cyclades.

That after the fixing of Delos on the sea-bottom the Cyclades grouped themselves around her is a detail not found elsewhere, and hardly compatible with the creation myth of the islands as told above (32 f.), where we learned that the islands had been given their fixed place already by some mighty god.

ὡς χορὸν ἀμφεβάλοντο: cf. *Il.* 23, 352*, *Od.* 14, 209* ἐβάλοντο, *Il.* 6, 461* ἀμφεμάχοντο, 2, 521* ἀμφενέμοντο, 16, 656* ἀμφεπένοντο. If ὡς = ὥσπερ 'as it were' (see Schneider II, 668), the translation could be 'and formed a choir as it were around you', the *medium pro activo* being natural because of the preceding ἐποιήσαντο. Otherwise the meaning must be 'they set themselves around thee as a choir' (Mair), the accusative having been written under the influence of the preceding κύκλον, or as if instead of ἀμφεβάλοντο

Call. had written ἑαυτάς ἀμφέβαλον. Anyhow, it seems unnecessary to read χορός with Schneider.

The circular choir is the most common form in Greek cultic dance: see Calame, 77 f. and *passim*.

302 ff. From the image of the Cyclades dancing around Delos, the poet associatively passes on to the description of the island's nocturnal festivities. Unlike Pfeiffer, I would rather put a full stop after l. 301, since there is hardly any relation between the position of the Cyclades around Delos and the fact that the island is never silent at night. After l. 303, on the other hand, I would prefer a semi-colon, since there is an obvious connexion between 303 ('the evenings always fill you with sound') and 304 ('for then the boys are singing and the girls are dancing'), σιωπηλήν corresponding with ὑπαείδουσι and ἄψοφον with ποδὶ πλήσσουσι ... οὖδας (see also Cahen, *Comm.*, 210). Moreover, the verbs of 303 and 304 are in the same tense, while also οὔτε, which with Pfeiffer's punctuation is asyndetical, can stand without difficulty, as there is no asyndeton at all.

302. σιωπηλήν: found previously in E. *Md.* 320 and Attic prose. The combination with ἄψοφον is found in a similar context also in *H.* 2, 12 μήτε σιωπηλὴν κίθαριν μήτ' ἄψοφον ἴχνος, thus lending support to Cahen's thesis (see above, 301 n.) that in *Delos* οὔτε σιωπηλήν refers to music, οὔτ' ἄψοφον to dance.

οὔτε ... οὔτ': *Il.* 15, 570*, *Od.* 1, 202*. For the 'negative antithesis' οὔτε ... οὔτε ... ἀλλ' ἀεί see Diehl, *o.c.* (16 n.), 5.

ἄψοφον: occurs in Tragedy (S. *Tr.* 967, E. *Tr.* 887), Comedy and Aristotle. See Schmitt, *Nom.* 85 n. 4.

οὖλος ἐθείραις: according to Aristarchus (cf. Schol. *Il.* 2, 5) οὖλος in Homer can mean (i) whole, entire, (ii) curly, and (iii) destructive. Call. already applies the three of them *passim*: see Schmitt, *Nom.* 53 f.; McLennan, *Zeus*, 86. Here it means 'crisp, curly', cf. *Od.* 6, 231 = 23, 158 οὔλας ... κόμας, Ba. 17, 113 κόμαισι ... οὔλαις, Hdt. 7, 70 οὐλότατον τρίχωμα (of the Aethiopians), and the adjective οὐλόθριξ in 2, 104. There is no connotation of blackness in οὖλος, as F. von Jan, *De Callimacho Homeri interprete* (Strassburg 1893), 12, supposes, referring to *Od.* 1, 423 μέλας ... ἕσπερος.

For ἔθειραι denoting human or divine hair cf. *h.Ven.* 228, *h.Dionys.* 4, etc.: see Williams, *Apollo*, 44. On the dative-ending -αις at the end of the line, which Call. generally prefers to -ῃς, see Williams, *o.c.*, 76. (Ap. Rh. has the same preference: see F. Vian, *REA* 72, 1970, 87 n. 2). For the rather uncommon limitative dative cf. *Od.* 12, 243 ψάμμῳ κυανέῃ (but see the *apparatus*), X. *An.* 2, 69 τῇ φωνῇ τραχύς, etc., see Schwyzer II, 168.

303. Ἕσπερος: the idea of the Evening or Evening-star with curly hair was perhaps suggested to Call. by some work of art, as Cahen suggests (*Comm.*,

210; on the subject in general see Webster, *o.c.* (228 n.), *passim*). For the device of describing Delos as looked at from heaven cf. Pi. *hy.* 1, fr. 33c; see above, 37 n. For the idea of the Divine Spectator, a Hellenistic variation of Helios' role in Homer cf. *H.* 2, 90; 3, 249 (with ἠώς as a counterpart of Hesperos here, see Bornmann's note) and 6, 7. See further Herter, *KuH.* 103 n. 3. That the appearance of the Delian girl choir took place at night is evident from the λαμπάδες or δαΐδες, ῥυμοί and κληματίδες being mentioned regularly on their behalf in Delian inventory lists: see Bruneau, *Recherches*, 36 and 69. For ἕσπερος see further above, 174 n.

καταβλέπει: the compound first here, with an accusative as with καθοράω, cf. Sol. fr. 14, 2, Thgn. 168, A. *Su.* 1058; the simplex βλέπω is not Homeric either.

ἀμφιβόητον: first in Call., probably a variation *metri causa* of Attic περιβόητος (S. *OR* 192, etc.): see Schmitt, *Nom.* 61 n. 14. The word is generally supposed to have the same meaning as περιβόητος, viz. 'ringing with sound', ἀμφι- being an intensifying prefix, cf. ἀμφιγεγηθώς, -δάκρυτος, -θαλής and -γόος: see Thesleff, *Intensif.*, 153 f. Cahen, however, thinks that it refers to the two (ἀμφι-) sounds expressed by οὔτε σιωπηλήν and οὔτ' ἄψοφον (song and dance, see above), but this is oversubtle, βοάω moreover being unfit to describe the sound of dancing feet. Neither is it possible to connect ἀμφιβόητον with the idea of the Cyclades dancing around Delos (301 f.): the introduction of Ἕσπερος proves that the foregoing scene has come to an end, and the Cyclades just do not encircle Delos only at night.

The phrase 'Hesperos *looks down* on you while you are ringing with *sound*' is of course not a joke after the manner of Pyramus' "I see a voice" in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer-night's Dream*: ἀμφιβόητον here evokes the whole scene of processions, singing and dancing on the island. For the *synesthesia* cf. *Od.* 9, 166 f. ἐλεύσσομεν ... καπνόν ... τε φθογγήν.

304 ff. After having evoked the festive atmosphere on Delos in general, Call. now continues by mentioning details which all belong to one and the same feast, as l. 307 δὴ τότε καί clearly suggests. The feast in question was once identified by Nilsson with the *Aphrodisia* (*GF* 380 ff.; cf. already Robert, *Arch. Jb.* 1890, 225 n. 11; Preller-Robert, *Griech. Myth.* I, 348 n. 3), but the general opinion that Call. had the *Delia-Apollonia* in mind has a far better chance of being true. The evidence is as follows: (i) In Delian inscriptions *boys'* choirs (cf. 304 οἱ μέν) are mentioned only in connexion with either the *Apollonia* or the *Dionysia.* (ii) Olen's song treated the subject of the Hyperboreans, and so must be connected either with the *Apollonia* (for Apollo's connection with the Hyperboreans see Nilsson, *GGR* I, 547 f.; Page, *SaA*, 250 f.) or with the *Thargelia* (because of the agrarian character of their offerings: see Nilsson, *GF* 147). Wilamowitz' suggestion (*Il. u. Hom.*, 451) that

the hymn of the Deliades sung at the Ionian festival described in *h.Ap.* 146ff., which was the forerunner of the later annual *Apollonia* (cf. Thuc. 3, 104; Nilsson, *GF*, 144), may have been Olen's song has a good chance of being true. (iii) The adorning of the old xoanon of Aphrodite (l. 307ff.) would have taken place at the *Aphrodisia*, of course, but probably also on the occasion of the dancing of the *Geranos*, since both Pausanias and Plutarch (see below, 307f. note) closely connect the dedication of this image with the dancing around the horned altar: see Cahen, *REG* 36 (1923), 19. (iv) The *Geranos* (310ff.) was performed by a choir of *Athenian* youths (see Bruneau, *Recherches*, 31, referring to Plut. *Nic.* 3 and *IG* II, 1635, 34f.), and therefore certainly at the *Delia-Apollonia*; cf. also the neglected passage in Himer. *Or.* 28, 10 Colonna νῦν ἄπεισι θεωρὶς ὁλκὰς εἰς Δῆλον, Ἀττικόν ἄγουσα τῷ θεῷ χορὸν καὶ οἷον καὶ Θησέα λόγος στῆσαι μετὰ Κρήτην Ἀπόλλωνι (cited by Herter, BJ 205). (v) The Athenian *theoria* with the 'ship of Theseus' belongs to the *Apollonia*, cf. Pl. *Ph.* 58aff., X. *Mem.* 4, 8, 2. — Since the common factor in all these cases is the *Apollonia*, we may suppose our poet to have had this feast in mind when writing these lines. As a matter of fact, the audience was prepared for it by the description of 278ff.

304ff. οἱ μὲν ... αἱ δέ: for singing boys and dancing girls cf. Hes. *Sc.* 278ff. τοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ λιγυρῶν συρίγγων ἵεσαν αὐδὴν / ἐξ ἁπαλῶν στομάτων ... · / αἳ δ' ὑπὸ φορμίγγων ἄναγον χορὸν ἱμερόεντα, drawing on *Il.* 18, 494f. and 593ff. See Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford [2]1961), 5.

ὑπαείδουσι: ὑπαείδω means singing in accompaniment to some other activity, such as cither-playing (cf. *Il.* 18, 569ff., *h.Merc.* 54, 502) or dancing, as is the case here; in *H.* 3, 242f., it is used of flutes accompanying a dance. See Calame, *Choeurs*, 155f.

On the lengthening of the α see *Introd.*, ch. 4.3.2 (7).

νόμον: not used in early epic denoting a melody or strain, but found with that meaning from Alcm. fr. 40 onward; cf. the use of ἤθεα above, l. 297.

Λυκίοιο γέροντος: cf. *Il.* 1, 538* *al.* ἁλίοιο γέροντος, 22, 75* κταμένοιο γέροντος, *Od.* 4, 395 θείοιο γέροντος.

This 'Lycian old man' is generally considered to be Olen, according to Hdt. 4, 35 an ἀνὴρ Λύκιος, who was the author of all ancient hymns sung on Delos (several of his hymns are mentioned in Pausanias: see Ziegler, *KlP* 4, 275). One must take the phrase then to be a humorous *Umkehrung* for 'the song of Olen which was brought from Xanthus by this Lycian old man'; but then one would expect this type of name variation to be a common phenomenon in earlier, especially epic, poetry, and this is hardly the case. We should therefore reckon with the possibility that the Lycian old man and Olen are not identical at all. For information on the subject, Call. may have been drawing once more on Hecataeus and/or the *Epigoni*: see above, 291 n.

305. Ξάνθοιο: river and town in Lycia, Ptolemaic possession probably from 295 B.C. onwards. See Will I, 122; Fraser, *PA* II, 929 n. 364. Ἀπὸ Ξάνθοιο varies Herodotus' ἐκ Λυκίης.

θεοπρόπος: this may denote a prophet, a function that Olen has also in [Boeo] fr. 2, 1 Pow.: Ὠλὴν θ', ὃς γένετο πρῶτος Φοίβοιο προφάτας, an affair which took place, however, at Delphi (cf. Paus. 10, 5, 8). Here ἤγαγεν suggests that θεοπρόπος stands for θεωρός, as in Hdt. 1, 48, A. *Pr.* 659, etc. It can be supposed that Lycians regularly sent sacred missions to Delos, and that the hymns sung by their choir became part of the Delian tradition. In *h.Ap.* 160 ff., we have evidence of the Delian girls singing foreign songs in several languages: see Wilamowitz, *Il. u. Hom.*, 451; Fraser, *PA* II, 929 n. 365.

ἤγαγεν: *Il.* 5, 731*, 10, 293*, 391*, 11, 480*, etc.

306. ποδί: the text is not certain here (see Pfeiffer's *apparatus*), but the reading ποδί certainly makes good sense, cf. *Od.* 8, 264 πέπληγον δὲ χορὸν θεῖον ποσίν, Pi. *pae.* 6, 18 ποδὶ κροτέο[ντι γᾶν θο]ῷ, and also, not in connection with dancing, *Od.* 22, 20 ὦσε ποδὶ πλήξας. Meineke's ποδοῖν may be attractive from a palaeographical point of view (some of the MSS have ποδὸν or ποδιὸν), but the dual seems to be applied in *Delos* only when there is a very special need for it: see above, 64 n.

πλήσσουσι: this is the first instance of the use of the present tense of the simplex of this verb in Greek (but cf. *Od.* 18, 231 ἐκ γάρ με πλήσσουσι). See J. Wackernagel, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer* (Göttingen 1916), 192; Ronconi, *art. cit.* (169 n.), 170.

χορίτιδες: first in Call. (cf. also *H.* 3, 13) as a feminine of *χορίτης (not attested), which could have been made on χορεύω like ὁδίτης on ὁδεύω: see Schmitt, *Nom.* 26 n. 46. Calame, *Choeurs*, 74 n. 54, suggests that χορῖτις can have been made also directly on χορεύω like ἱερῖτις on ἱερεύω, ἱερεύτης not being found either.

ἀσφαλὲς οὖδας: cf. *Il.* 19, 61*, *Od.* 13, 395*, *al.* ἄσπετον οὖδας, *Od.* 6, 42 (cf. Pi. *N.* 6, 3) ἕδος ἀσφαλές. The reference of course is to Asteria's recently acquired firmness.

307. δὴ τότε: *Il.* 5, 136*, 454*, *Od.* 1, 424*, 3, 270*, etc., see Denn.^{2}, 228. Δὴ τότε καί, which is not found elsewhere, seems to be a playful reversal of Homeric καὶ τότε δή. The words suggest that a special celebration is intended here, which is best identified with the *Delia-Apollonia*, see above, 304 ff. note.

στεφάνοισι βαρύνεται: hardly anyone will agree with C. del Grande (*Filologia minore*, Milano-Napoli ^{2}1967, 311) that we have here an instance of animism in Call., since the poet describes the image of Aphrodite 'suffering under the weight of the wreaths'. It is, of course, a common metaphor: 'the image is weighed down (= βρίθεται, πυκάζεται) by garlands'. As to the form cf. *Il.* 19, 165*; for Callimachus' apparent fondness of the verb see above,

lines 202, 212 and 244. For wreaths used on festive occasions see Eitrem, *o.c.* (250 n.), 64ff.; Nilsson, *GGR* I, 127. They are regularly mentioned in Delian accounts: see Cahen, *Comm.*, 212.

ἄγαλμα: *Il.* 4, 144*, *Od.* 18, 300*. The word never refers to an image in early epic (see *LfgrE*, 31f.); for this usage cf. S. *OR* 1378f. δαιμόνων / ἀγάλμαθ' ἱερά, etc.

According to Pausanias (9, 40, 3f.) and Plutarch (*Thes.* 21), the image concerned was the little xoanon which Ariadne had carried with her on her flight from Crete, and which Theseus had taken from her and dedicated to the Delian Apollo. See Gallet de Santerre, *DPA*, 178; Bruneau, *Recherches*, 334.

308. Κύπριδος ἀρχαίης: as in l. 21 above, here again the introduction of Aphrodite, being not at all essential in the context, may be a device of Call. to honour Arsinoe, who was identified with this goddess already during her lifetime. Should this supposition be right, then the epithet ἀρχαίης is very apt, Arsinoe being the 'new Aphrodite'. Formerly the adjective had to be explained as an enallage (Spanheim) or as a reference to the pre-Olympic origin of Aphrodite, born from Ouranos' seed; but why Call. should here show his preference for the Hesiodic version (*Th.* 188ff.) at the expense of the Homeric one, in which Aphrodite is the daughter of Zeus and Dione (cf. *Il.* 5, 370f.), is not at all clear. Meineke even thought it necessary to read 'Ακραίης, a mere learned epithet which makes no sense whatsoever in the context.

ἀριήκοον: possibly coined by Call. himself. 'Αρι- occurs in comparable compounds like ἀρίγνωτος, ἀριδείκετος and ἀρίσημος, and compounds with -ήκοος include ἀνήκοος (above, l. 116), ἐπ-, εὐ-, ὀξυ- and πολυήκοος. See Schmitt, *Nom.* 144 n. 38; Chantr., *Dict. Ét.*, 50 B. The word is generally explained as 'much heard of', but Weinreich's explanation (*art. cit.* (116 n.), 56) 'much inclined to give ear' is certainly as attractive, even when properly speaking it goes with ἄγαλμα and not with Κύπριδος.

308f. ἥν ποτε Θησεύς / εἵσατο: cf. Thgn. 11f. Ἄρτεμι (...) ἣν 'Αγαμέμνων / εἵσαθ', ὅτ' ἐς Τροίην ἔπλεε νηυσὶ θοῇς, *Od.* 11, 321ff. 'Αριάδνην (...) ἥν ποτε Θησεύς / ἐκ Κρήτης ... / ἦγε. For the verse-ending cf. further *Od.* 19, 56* ἥν ποτε τέκτων, Hes. *Th.* 409* ἥν ποτε Πέρσης, etc. The choice of ἥν instead of ὅ may have been due to the influence of these parallels; but ἥν is also more consistent with the idea of the identity of image and deity, especially in evidence during the coronation ceremony.

309. σὺν παίδεσσι: *h.Ap.* 148*, Hes. *Op.* 399*, cf. *Th.* 398. These children are the well-known δὶς ἑπτά, called παῖδες also in Pl. *Lg.* 706b 7 and Plut. *Thes.* 17, and κοῦροι or ἠίθεοι in Ba. 17, 3, 43, 93 and 128.

ἀνέπλει: for the imperfect cf. Thgn. 11f. quoted above, and Hes. fr. 43 a 63 εὐθὺ[ς ἐπ]εὶ Τροίηθεν ἀπέ[πλε]ε.

310f. The text as given by the MSS has been suspected here, since the phrase 'having escaped the cruel bellowing and the wild son of Pasiphae' seems to suggest that the bellowing came from the mouth of Minos' daughter, while also the combination of an abstract with a concrete noun in the hendiadys (μύκημα + υἷα = υἷα μυκῶντα) gave offence. Therefore Schneider wrote μυκητά (= μυκητήν, as a Callimachean imitation of Homeric αἰχμητά, μητιετά, etc.), Kuiper μύκητα (= μυκητήν, cf. πλάνης ~ πλανήτης), and Maas (*JbPhVBerl.* 47, 1921, 136 = *Kleine Schriften* 84) Μίνωα, which makes a clean sweep of the whole problem, but is a *lectio nimis facilis* (cf. *Il.* 13, 450*, *Od.* 11, 568*). However, the text as it stands was satisfactorily explained by Wilamowitz (*HD* II, 75 n. 3) as a picturesque description of the various stages through which the Athenian youths in Cnossus had to proceed: first they heard the dismal roaring, then saw the wild monster itself, and after the killing they had to seek their way out of the labyrinth's intricacies. Pfeiffer refers to *Aet.* fr. 75, 64 f., where abstract nouns and proper names are also found combined (ἐν δ' ὕβριν θάνατόν τε κεραύνιον, ἐν δὲ γόητας / Τελχῖνας).

χαλεπὸν ... καὶ ἄγριον: cf. *Od.* 8, 575 χαλεποί τε καὶ ἄγριοι. In Homer, ἄγριος is said both of animals (cf. *Il.* 8, 388, etc.) and of human beings (cf. *Il.* 6, 97, *Od.* 2, 19, etc.).

μύκημα: first in A. *Pr.* 1062, of the thunder; once in Euripides (*Ba.* 691, plur.); regularly in Hellenistic poetry. The Homeric form is μυκηθμός (*Il.* 18, 575, *Od.* 12, 265).

υἷα: 58 n.

φυγόντες: *Od.* 23, 238*, cf. E. *IT* 241 f. Συμπληγάδα / ... φυγόντες.

311. γναμπτὸν ἕδος σκολιοῦ λαβυρίνθου: cf. *Il.* 4, 406 = *Od.* 11, 263 Θήβης ἕδος ... ἑπταπύλοιο, *Hom.h.* 15, 7 καλὸν ἕδος νιφόεντος 'Ολύμπου, A. *Pr.* 412 ἔποικον ... 'Ασίας ἕδος, Pi. *I.* 1, 31 ὑψίπεδον Θεράπνας ... ἕδος, etc. The novelty in the expression here is, that γναμπτός and σκολιός are synonymous, referring to the coiled and winding ways of the labyrinth, and so creating an intricate expression for an intricate building; unless γναμπτός is intended to mean 'circular' (cf. Pi. *I.* 1, 57, where the γναμπτοὶ δρομοί refer to the *diaulos*), since the labyrinth is sometimes represented in such a form. See F. Wolters, "Darstellungen des Labyrinths," *SbMünch.* (1907), 113 ff.; Cook, *Zeus* I, Fig. 343; Herter, *RE* Suppl. XIII, 1142.

Γναμπτός is Homeric, cf. *Il.* 18, 401, *h.Ven.* 163, etc. Σκολιός is a Homeric *unicum* (*Il.* 16, 387), found six times in Hesiod and regularly elsewhere. For its possible meaning cf. Pi. *P.* 2, 85 ὁδοῖς σκολιαῖς ('winding ways', Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar*, *s.v.*).

For the uncommon word-end at pos. 7+9 in this line see *Introd.*, ch. 4.2.2 (7).

312. πότνια, σὸν περὶ βωμόν: in l. 123 it was Leto who addressed as πότνια; in l. 226, Hera; here it unmistakeably refers to Asteria, since in this section she is the person constantly spoken to in the second person: cf. l. 300 Ἀστερίη, σέ, 303 σε, 305 τοι, 316 σε, etc. See Cahen, *REG* 36 (1923), 16 f.; Bruneau, *Recherches*, 23; *Introd.*, ch. 1.3.1. (Nilsson's thesis that πότνια here refers to l. 308 Κύπριδος, and that the altar here should be Aphrodite's, is untenable: see above, 304 ff. note.)

According to Plutarch (*Thes.* 21), the dance of Theseus was performed περὶ τὸν Κερατῶνα βωμόν, according to Pollux (*On.* 4, 101) περὶ τὸν Δήλιον βωμόν (probably called Δηλιακὸς βωμός in Hesych. *s.v.*), while the Scholiast on Call. here says περὶ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. Obviously one and the same altar is meant by them all. For the connection of Asteria/Delos with the Altar of Horns cf. *H.* 2, 56 ff., where it appears that the building of this altar was connected with the foundation of the city (cf. l. 56 κτιζομένησ'). Being the city-altar of Delos, the Keraton must have been dedicated to the eponymous goddess. See Williams, *Apollo*, 59 f.; O. Rubensohn, *JbDaI* 46 (1931), 364; Gallet de Santerre, *DPA* 180, 189 f.; Bruneau, *Recherches*, 20 ff.

σὸν περὶ βωμόν: Thgn. 779, cf. *Il.* 24, 518, 529 σὸν κατὰ θυμόν. For dancing around the altar cf. Hes. *Th.* 4 ὀρχεῦνται καὶ ⟨περὶ⟩ βωμόν, E. *IA* 676 ἀμφὶ βωμόν ... χορούς, 1480 f. ἑλίσσετ' ... ἀμφὶ βωμόν, poet. Lesb. fr. inc. 16 ὤρχηντ' ... ἀμφ' ἐρόεντα βωμόν, see Calame, *Choeurs*, 79 ff.

ἐγειρομένου κιθαρισμοῦ: 'when the cither-playing starts', cf. Hdt. 7, 49 ἐγειρομένου χειμῶνος.

313. κύκλιον ὠρχήσαντο: refers to the celebrated γέρανος or Crane-dance, of which we possess a short description in Plutarch (*Thes.* 21), drawing on Dicaearchus (fr. 85 Wehrli, with note on 69). According to him, the dance originated as a μίμημα τῶν ἐν τῷ Λαβυρίνθῳ περιόδων καὶ διεξόδων ἔν τινι ῥυθμῷ παραλλάξεις καὶ ἀνελίξεις ἔχοντι (on these terms see especially Bruneau, *Recherches*, 31). Further details are given by Pollux 4, 101: Τὴν δὲ γέρανον κατὰ πλῆθος ὠρχοῦντο ἕκαστος ὑφ' ἑκάστῳ κατὰ στοῖχον, τὰ ἄκρα ἑκατέρωθεν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐχόντων, τῶν περὶ Θησέα πρῶτον περὶ τὸν Δήλιον βωμὸν ἀπομιμησαμένων τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Λαβυρίνθου ἔξοδον. The dance, then, must have been performed by a long row of youths, led by two γερανουλκοί (cf. Hesych. *s.v.*) at either end of the chain. The name γέρανος has never been satisfactorily explained: for a review of the proposed theories see L. B. Lawler, *TAPA* 77 (1946), 116 ff., and further Bruneau, *o.c.*, 30 ff.; Herter, *RE* Suppl. XIII, 1142; Calame, *o.c.*, 77 ff., 108 f.

According to Bruneau, the present tense of πέμπουσι in l. 315 proves that the Geranos was still performed in Callimachus' own time. This may certainly be true in itself, since also Plutarch tells (*l.c.*): 'they say that the Delians perform it even now', but it cannot be inferred from Callimachus' text, since

the mere sending of the ropes does not imply that the Geranos was actually performed. (For the erroneous theory that ropes were used during the dance see below, 315 n.).

On the intricate question as to whether or not the Geranos is depicted on the François vase see now Herter, *o.c.*, 1143; Secci, *RIL* 91 (1957), 829 n. 101; Fauth, *KlP*. I, 1442f. (art. *Delios*). For further representations of the dance see Herther, *o.c.*, *l.c.* On the possible relations of the Geranos with the *lusus Troiae* see H. v. Petrikovits, "Troiaritt und Geranostanz," in: *Festschrift Egger* (Klagenfurt 1952), 126, 143; F. Bömer, *Rom und Troia* (Baden-Baden 1951), 1ff.

Mentioning the Geranos as a κύκλιον dance, Call. perhaps intended once more a reference to Egyptian king ritual. At the *heb sed* festival, the anniversary ceremony of the enthronement (in the case of Philadelphus virtually coinciding with his birthday, see *Introd.*, ch. 2.1.6), the king performed a 'Besitzergreifungslauf', a ceremonial *circumambulatio*, symbolizing the re-unification of the two parts of Egypt. See A. Moret, *o.c.* (264 n.), 98, and the literature cited by H. S. Versnel, *Med. Ned. Inst. Rom.* 37 (1975), n. 64. For further possible references to Egyptian king-ritual see above, 168 n., 260ff. n., 264 n., 278 n.; *Introd.*, *l.c.*

χοροῦ δ' ἡγήσατο: for ἡγεῖσθαι with the genitive of the dance or song cf. *Od.* 23, 134 (ὀρχηθμοῖο), X. *Cyr.* 8, 7, 1 (τοῦ χοροῦ), etc. Ἡγεῖσθαι may imply the initiation, the organisation and the actual leading of the choir, see Calame, *chœurs*, 115.

314f. Literally 'hence as everlasting envoy-offerings (?) to Phoebus the Cecropians send the rigging of that ship.' Commentators have made all kinds of efforts to construct and explain these lines properly: by putting a comma after πέμπουσι (Ernesti, Wilamowitz), after τοπήια (Meineke), both after ἀειζώοντα and ἱερά (Schneider, Kuiper), by explaining τοπήια as 'harbour-dues' (Reiske) or θεωρίδος as an equivalent of θεωρίας (Danielsson, *art. cit.* (1 n.), 100ff., providing a detailed discussion of previous theories).

The intricacy of the construction is no doubt intentional: to the Greek audience as well, the meaning of l. 314 will have been clear only after the words τοπήια νηὸς ἐκείνης. In this respect Schneider's remark is noteworthy when he states that the construction would be completely clear, if only θεωρίδος ἱερὰ Φοίβῳ and τοπήια νηὸς ἐκείνης were changed around. This should not in fact be done, of course: the placing of τοπήια in the second line is no doubt to create an effect of surprise, since one would not expect the Athenians to send to Delos only some *ropes* for offerings. The reference is to the well-known tale in Plut. *Thes.* 23, 1, where it is said that Theseus' τριακόντορον subsisted until the days of Demetrius of Phaleron. As a result of the ship's constant decay, however, the Athenians had regularly taken

away τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν ξύλων and replaced them by new ones: hence it had become a celebrated subject of debate among philosophers as to whether it was still Theseus' ship or not. Plutarch's tale suggests that Demetrius had written on the subject, and his exposé may well have been available in the Alexandrian Library, since Demetrius had been active in the Museum under Soter. See Fraser, *PA* 1, 314 f.

314. ἔνθεν: 253 n.

ἀειζώοντα: the compound recurs only in Cleanth. fr. 537, 10 SVF, a fragment which has two more parallels to *Delos* (cf. Cl. 11 ὑπὸ πληγῆς ~ *Del.* 321 ὑπὸ πληγῆσι, and Cl. 33 ἀπειροσύνης ἀπὸ λυγρῆς ~ *Del.* 210 ἀμηχανίης ὑπὸ λυγρῆς). Ἀείζωος or -ζως occurs in Tragedy; cf. also S. *OR* 481 f. ἀεὶ / ζῶντα. For ζάω used of things see *LSJ s.v.* ζῶ II.

θεωρίδος: θεωρίς is found before Call. only in Hdt. 6, 87 (τὴν θεωρίδα νέα) and A. *Th.* 858 (τὰν ... ναύστολον θεωρίδα). It cannot be connected with νηὸς ἐκείνης in the next line, the term ναῦς θεωρίς hardly applying to the ship on which Theseus first made his voyage, and it therefore must refer to the later situation. Since, however, there is not much sense in 'everlasting offerings of the envoy-vessel', Danielsson, *art. cit.*, *l.c.*, suggests that θεωρίς here may be an equivalent of θεωρία (cf. Hesych. *s.v.*), of which the genitive would be unmetrical. The notion 'envoy offerings' is certainly far more apt than 'envoy-vessel offerings'.

315. Κεκροπίδαι: cf. Hdt. 8, 44, S. *pae.* fr. 737 (b) i, 5 Page, Eubul. Com. fr. 20, 1. The word has an antique and solemn ring, which is precisely what the context needs.

τοπήια: found in the form τοπεῖα in Isaeus, Comedy and inscriptions. Callimachus' form is not a Dorism, as the Scholiast suggests, no more than is νυμφήιον in 1. 118 or μαντήιον in 1. 188: see Schmitt, *Nom.* 42 f., 49; Giangrande, *H* 98 (1970), 270 f. It is the technical term for the standing and running rigging of the ship, see L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton 1971), 229 n. 20, 250 n. 1, 265 f. n. 3. It has been suggested that these ropes had some connection with the Geranos, since the word ῥυμοί, found in inscriptions as attributes of the Deliades, was supposed to mean 'ropes' (see Cook, *Zeus* I, 481; III, 2, 1087; Lawler, *art. cit.* (313 n.), 125 f.; Gallet de Santerre, *DPA* 184). The Geranos, however, was not performed by the Delian choir but by an Athenian one, and the ῥυμοί, being always mentioned in conjunction with torches and the like, must be a kind of match. See Bruneau, *Recherches*, 32, 36.

According to Call., the Athenians always carried the τοπήια back home with them. For permanent dedication on Delos of ship's parts such as ἀκροστόλια, ἔμβολοι and πηδάλια see W. Deonna, "Le mobilier délien," *EAD* 18 (1938), 197 f.; L. Basch, *BCH* Suppl. 1 (1973), 70 ff.

For τοπήια νηὸς ἐκείνης cf. Homeric verse-endings like *Il.* 15. 729* ἴκρια νηὸς ἐΐσης, *Od.* 3, 10* ἵστια νηὸς ἐΐσης, *h.Ap.* 489 ἔντεα νηὸς ἐΐσης. Ἐκείνης somewhat vaguely refers to l. 309 ὅτε Κρητῆθεν ἀνέπλει. Meineke's ἐκείνου tries to smooth the connection, but smoothness does not seem to be the primary concern of Hellenistic poets.

316. πολύβωμε: cf. above, l. 266, where Asteria herself applied the epithet to Gaia to set off her own significance.

πολύλλιτε: either 'sought with many prayers', as in *Od.* 5, 445, the Altar of Horns being dedicated to Asteria (see above, 312 n.), or 'much frequented by suppliants' (*LSJ*), cf. *h.Ap.* 347 and *h.Cer.* 28, where it is said of a sanctuary. The latter is more in accordance with πολύβωμε, referring to the great diversity of divinities with a sanctuary on Delos.

Πολύλλιτος is the regular Hellenistic form: in early epic (cf. also Ba. 11, 41, Sim. 577 (b), 2) we find πολύλλιστος. See Williams, *Apollo*, 72; Schmitt, *Nom.* 61 f. n. 17; Chantr., *Dict. Ét.*, 643 b f.

τίς δέ σε ναύτης: cf. *Od.* 1, 171 = 14, 188 (≅ 16, 57) πῶς δέ σε ναῦται. For δέ in questions after the vocative see Denn.[2], 173 f.

317. ἔμπορος Αἰγαίοιο: further specification of ναύτης: 'trading on the Aegean sea.' The single word ἔμπορος does not justify Herter's remark (*RE* Suppl. XIII, 238): "Kallimachos feiert Delos als das ... wirtschaftliche (v. 316 ff.) Zentrum der Aegeis." It is not in the trading, but in the curious ritual that Call. is here interested.

παρήλυθε: Homer has ἀμφ-, ἀν-, εἰσ-, ἐν- and ὑπήλυθεν, but παρῆλθεν (*Od.* 5, 429).

For the obligation to join in the ceremony cf. *H.* 3, 266 μήδε χορὸν φεύγειν. For such a 'sakrale Fahrtunterbrechung' D. Wachsmuth, ΠΟΜΠΙΜΟΣ Ο ΔΑΙΜΩΝ (Diss. Berlin 1967), 408 f., refers to *A.P.* 6, 251, 3 (Philippus, about 25 A.D.) and to a mosaic from the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigeneia at Preneste. It cannot be concluded from Callimachus' text that the ritual was still performed in the third century B.C., since it is described in the past tense: cf. l. 317 παρήλυθε, 320 ἐστείλαντο, and ἔβησαν, the presents ἐπιπνείουσιν and ἄγει necessarily being historical.

νηὶ θεούσῃ: new 'formula', combining the case and the *sedes* of νηὶ μελαίνῃ (*Il.* 1, 300*, etc.), the case and the meaning of νηὶ θοῇ (*Od.* 10, 176, etc.), and the terminology of θεούσης νηός (*Od.* 3, 281, etc.).

318 ff. The construction of the period shows several curious inconsistencies: (i) alternation of tense (present/aorist); (ii) alternation of number (ναύτης and μιν singular, ἐστείλαντο and ἀποστρέψαντας plural); (iii) anacolouthon of οὐχ οὕτω ..., ἀλλά ...; (iv) ellipse with χρείω (*sc.* οὐχ οὕτω μεγάλη); (v) unparalleled splitting up of πρὶν ... ἤ. The peculiarity of the style here seems to vie with that of the rite.

Schneider follows the MSS in putting a semi-colon at the end of l. 318, but I fail to see how the context is served by the statement 'mild winds blow at him'. The meaning of the sentence is without doubt: 'Every seafarer, no matter how fast he travelled before the wind or in how much of a hurry he was, had to stop at your island, Asteria, to perform the dancing-and-biting ritual.' Since certainly from Pindar onward (*P.* 10, 51; 11, 40) sailing was a common metaphor for writing poetry, we should reckon with the possibility that Call. in this section alludes to his own position and work as a poet in the Museum. See *Introd.*, ch. 2.1.9 with n. 36.

318. οὐχ οὕτω μεγάλοι: for οὐχ οὕτω(ς) + adjective cf. *Il.* 3, 170 οὐδ' οὕτω γεραρόν, *Od.* 13, 239 f. οὐδὲ λίην/οὕτω νώνυμος. For μέγας qualifying winds cf. *Od.* 12, 408 (λαῖλαψ), 19, 200 (ἄνεμος), Sa. fr. 20, 9 μεγάλαις ἀήταις.

ἐπιπνείουσιν ἀῆται: cf. *Od.* 9, 138* ἐπιπνεύσωσιν ἀῆται, Hes. *Th.* 872 αὖραι ἐπιπνείουσι θάλασσαν, E. *Ph.* 789 στρατὸν 'Αργείων ἐπιπνεύσας.

319. χρειὼ δ' ἄγει: cf. *Od.* 4, 312 σε χρειὼ ... ἤγαγε, 11, 164 χρειώ με κατήγαγεν. For the ellipse see above, 318 ff. note. The rest of the sentence can be explained in two ways: (i) 'necessity drives him on the fastest possible course', πλόον being an internal accusative; for ὅττι τάχιστον ... πλόον cf. X. *Cyr.* 6, 1, 43 ὅτι πλεῖστον χρόνον, etc. (see *LSJ s.v.* ὅ τι). (ii) 'necessity drives his course as fast as possible', πλόον then being the object, and ὅττι τάχιστον an unparalleled variant of the epic ὅττι τάχιστα, cf. *Il.* 4, 193*, 23, 71*, etc. For the rare instances of the adverbial superlative ending in -ον see Kühner-Blass I, 577.

For the whole line cf. Hes. *Op.* 673 σπεύδειν δ' ὅττι τάχιστα πάλιν οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι.

ἀλλά: peculiar paratactical construction, answering οὐχ οὕτω μέγαλοι. Elsewhere ἀλλά may follow a hypothetical or temporal clause: see *LSJ s.v.* ἀλλά I, 2.

λαίφη: for λαῖφος = 'sail' cf. *h.Ap.* 406, etc.; in Homer, the word only denotes ragged clothing.

320. ὠκέες: for the predicative use of the adjective cf. *Il.* 23, 287 ταχέες δ' ἱππῆες ἄγερθεν, S. *Ant.* 1215 ἴτ' ἆσσον ὠκεῖς, etc. See Chantr. II, 9; Schwyzer II, 179.

ἐστείλαντο: cf. *Il.* 1, 433 ἱστία μὲν στείλαντο, (cf. the active use in *Od.* 3, 10 f., 16, 353), A. *Su.* 723 στείλασα λαῖφος.

οὐ πάλιν αὖτις ἔβησαν: cf. *Il.* 5, 257 οὐ πάλιν αὖτις, 23, 229 πάλιν αὖτις ἔβαν, *Od.* 14, 356 πάλιν αὖτις ἔβαινον, etc.; πάλιν αὖ / αὖθις / αὖτις is a stock combination in Lyric poetry and Tragedy as well. The MSS have αὖθις here, which may be kept as a slight variation of epic usage; in the comparable

phrase μετάτροπος αὖτις ἐχώρει in 1.99, however, most of the MSS have αὖτις. Such inconsistencies are not alien to Callimachean style.

321. πρὶν ... ἦ: perhaps a very harsh splitting up of πρὶν ἤ, which Cahen judged "très possible" (*REG* 36, 1923, 21 n. 3). Elsewhere in Greek, only particles are allowed to stand in between, cf. *Il.* 5, 288 πρίν γ' ἤ, Hdt. 2, 2 πρὶν μὲν ἤ, 1, 136 πρὶν δὲ ἤ, etc. Wilamowitz wrote μεγάλη instead, referring to Gaia in 1.266 (see *HD* II, 76 n. 1), but a sudden reference to another deity in this eulogy on Asteria is completely out of place. Schneider puts πρίν apart, connecting ἤ with καί of the next line, and referring to Homeric combinations like ἠμὲν ... καί (*Il.* 15, 664) and ἤ ... τε (2, 289); but these parallels do not prove that ἤ ... καί may stand for 'both ... and ...', and the word-order is almost as harsh as in the combination πρὶν ... ἤ. Schneider's alternative solution, μέγα δή, is not satisfactory either, since there is no point in μέγα ἑλίξαι.

ὑπὸ πληγῇσιν ἑλίξαι: Callimachus' description of the seafarers' rite is not overall clear (the hymn is no handbook on Delian ritual after all), and has given rise to much controversy, especially since the other testimonies on the subject are contradictory. The Scholiast says that the performers of the rite ran round the altar hitting it with a whip, whereas Hesychius *s.v.* Δηλιακὸς βωμός explains: 'to run round the altar on Delos and be hit' (τὸ περιτρέχειν κύκλῳ τὸν ἐν Δήλῳ βωμὸν καὶ τύπτεσθαι). To reconcile the two, M. Schmidt read τύπτειν in Hesych., but that should not be done, since the difference of the two statements is probably due to the ambiguity of Callimachus' text. There are, however, strong reasons to believe that it is not the Scholiast but Hesychius who is right here. (i) ὑπὸ πληγῇσι cannot be connected with ῥησσόμενον in the next line, ῥήσσω being generally said of dancers hitting the ground (see below), whereas πληγή is a blow or stroke with a weapon, whip, etc. Standing on its own, then, ὑπὸ πληγῇσι can only be passive in meaning ('while being struck'), just as in *Od.* 13, 82* and in comparable expressions with ὑπό + dative, as e.g. ὑπ' αὐλῷ = 'to the accompaniment of the flute': see Chantr. II, 140; Schwyzer II, 526. (ii) While the hitting of an altar is an unheard of phenomenon in ancient rite, flagellation of the participants is well attested, as e.g. in the cult of Artemis Orthia in Sparta and that in the *Skiereia* in Alea: see Nilsson, *GGR* I, 487 f., 584 f.; L. B. Lawler, "The Dance of the Ancient Mariners," *TAPA* 75 (1944), 25 f.; Gallet de Santerre, *DPA*, 186. The cathartic character of the flagellation is stressed by A. v. Gennep, *Les rites de passage* (Paris 1909), 248 f.; cf. S. Reinach, *Cultes, mythes et religions* I (Paris 1905), 173 ff.; Wachsmuth, *o.c.* (317 n.), 342. The ritual thus resembles that of 296 ff., being a rite of passage as well, and may in the same way be connected with Callimachus' condition as a newcomer to the Museum: see *Introd.*, ch. 2.1.9, and further below, 322 n.

῾Ελίξαι can hardly be anything other than 'dance about', used intransitively, as in E. *HF* 687 ff. παιᾶνα μὲν Δηλιάδες / ὑμνοῦσ' ἀμφὶ πύλας τὸν / Λατοῦς εὔπαιδα γόνον / εἱλίσσουσαι, a passage which may have been in the poet's mind here (see Calame, *Choeurs*, 78 f.). ῾Ελίσσομαι is among the technical terms for the *circumambulatio*, which in itself may be apotropeic or cathartic in character: see W. Pax, *RAC* 3, 144 f. For the scanty instances of a 'Gebetstanz' to obtain εὐπλοία see Wachsmuth, *o.c.*, 465.

322. ῥησσόμενον: passive, referring to the fact that the altar was shaking under the dancing feet of the mariners: '*arae basin pedibus pulsatam*' (Schneider, 332, cf. Cahen, *Comm.*, 215). ῾Ρήσσω is found also in the description of the dance of the παρθενικαί and the ἠΐθεοι in *Il.* 18, 571 (cf. above, 298 n.), and in that of the Cretans who followed Apollo to Delphi in *h.Ap.* 516. Middle or passive forms of the verb are not attested elsewhere.

πρέμνον ὀδακτάσαι ἁγνὸν ἐλαίης: the trunk of the olive-tree is mentioned again in fr. 194, 83 f. τεῦ γ]ὰρ τὸ πρέμνον Δήλιοι φυλάσσουσι; / τὸ τ]ῆς ἐλαίης ἣ ἀν[έπαυσ]ε τὴν Λητώ, while the biting is alluded to again in fr. 203, 60 ff. λιμηρά / ἕκαστος ἄκροις δακτύλοις ἀποκνίζει / ὡς τῆς ἐλαίης ἣ ἀνέπαυσε τὴν Λητώ.

Herodotus only reports that an olive-tree grew on the Sema (4, 34 ἐπιπέφυκε δέ οἱ ἐλαίη), without reference to any rite connected with it. The biting ritual, for which Call. is our only source, has hardly any parallel in Classical literature: parallels in European folklore, however, are well attested. They include the following (see especially Lawler, *art. cit.* (321 n.), *l.c.*): (i) In a fragment of a satyr play (D. L. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri* I, 168), a biting contest is set up by satyrs whose skill in dancing is explicitly mentioned later. (ii) In Plin. *NH* 28, 45 it is said that the biting off of a morsel of wood struck by lightning (and therefore sacred) *reiectis post terga manibus* may have a soothing effect on an aching tooth. (iii) There is a fair amount of more recent folkloristic practices, in which a tree is bitten in order to put an end to or prevent illness or bad luck in general: see Bächtold-Stäubli, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (*HDA*) I (Berlin-Leipzig 1927), 1016-22; W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte* I (Berlin 1875), 21 f.; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* I (London 1907), 98 ff., 176 ff.; IX, 54 ff.; E. Pfister, *RhM* 77 (1928), 185 ff. In view of my thesis that Call. has selected mainly those Delian rites that are connected with initiation (see *Introd.*, ch. 2.1.8 f.), a Tyrolean custom is specially noteworthy, according to which children going into the Alps for the first time have to take two bites from a tree struck by lightning. "Hier hat sich *das Necken des Neulings* (my italics) mit dem Glauben an die Schutz- und Heilkraft eines Spans aus einem Blitzbaum verbunden" (*HDA*, 1022). That the seafarers' rite, though possibly a relic of some Mediterranean tree-cult, and practised by mariners to secure happy

sailings, was regarded by Call. as an initiation ritual can be inferred from lines 323-4, where the spectacle is said to have been invented for the amusement of the young Apollo: initiation ceremonial is generally exhilarating for the audience.

In any case, it is most unlikely that the dancing-and-biting ritual can be explained as a mimed re-enactment of Leto's *accouchement*, during which she is said to have bitten the tree to relieve her pain (see Most, *art. cit.* (48 n.), 192 n. 12). Brind'amour, *art. cit.* (210 n.), 1409 f., even confesses ingenuously to having tried to bite a tree standing at his back, the negative result leading him to the conclusion that ὀδακτάσαι here means 'embrace', or rather intransitively 'bite the bullet', πρέμνον going with χεῖρας ἀποστρέψαντας (*sic*). But the truth is that there is no clue at all to enable us to connect the ritual in question with Leto's *accouchement*: Call. certainly does not connect the two (cf. also the *aition* in l. 323 f.), and the role of the flagellation within the rite remains totally unaccounted for, Most's explanation: "the altar (of Asteria!) is whipped because the goddess (Leto!) suffered such pain" being unacceptable. Moreover, sailors seem hardly to be the appropriate persons to re-enact an *accouchement*.

Finally I might suggest the possibility that Call. or his source(s) misunderstood or misrepresented the ritual. Pausanias (9, 40, 3) gives the information that the right hand of Aphrodite's xoanon was λελυμασμένον ... ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου, a phenomenon that could just as well have been the result of its being touched constantly by a stream of worshippers; cf. the image of Hercules in Agrigentum, which was slightly worn away because people '*etiam osculari solent*' (Cic. *act. sec. Verr.* 4, 94, cf. Lucr. 1, 316, with Bailey's note). Could not therefore the supposed biting of the πρέμνον of the olive-tree in fact have been the kissing of Aphrodite's xoanon, which could have been a rather primitive piece of olive-wood? This certainly disposes of the problem of how the Delians could allow a sacred olive-tree to be destroyed by the biting of an endless stream of worshippers; but we are still left with the question raised by Chr. le Roy, *BCH* Suppl. I (1973), 270 f., n. 17, of how it was possible that sailors, their hands behind their backs, could bite the olive-tree (*c.q.* kiss the xoanon) which was standing in the centre of the Sema, an *abaton* of six metres across surrounded by a low wall. But the xoanon may have stood elsewhere, of course.

ὀδακτάσαι: ὀδακτάζω recurs only in A.R. 4, 1608. On the formation of the verb see Chantr., *Dict. Ét.*, 773 b; Schwyzer I, 706.

323. χεῖρας ἀποστρέψαντας: cf. *Od.* 22, 189 f. σὺν δὲ πόδας χεῖράς τε δέον ... / εὖ μάλ' ἀποστρέψαντε, S. *OR* 1154 οὐχ ὡς τάχος τις τοῦδ' ἀποστρέψει χέρας; Plin. *NH* 28, 45 *reiectis post terga manibus* (see above). The purpose of this prescription no doubt was to prevent the performers of the rite from

touching the sacred object with their hands, and not, as Ch. Picard suggests (*Journ. Sav.* 1946, 58), to symbolize surrender ('en prisonniers').

ἃ Δήλιας εὕρετο νύμφη, etc.: considered as a serious *aition* this is an unsatisfactory one (i) from a literary point of view, when compared to the poet's celebrated Αἴτια, and (ii) from a *Religionswissenschaft* point of view: the curious dancing-and-biting ritual certainly deserved a more sophisticated treatment. Callimachus' concern evidently lay elsewhere: I have suggested above that this whimsical explanation could be a clue to the fact that Call., with the description of this ritual, wanted to refer to his own initiation to the Museum.

Who is the Delian nymph? Just one of the Deliades mentioned in l. 256? Or Leto, who is perhaps so called in E. *IT* 1235? For the Alexandrian audience the case may have been less mysterious, since they would have been familiar with Callimachus' source, e.g. the *Deliaka* of Semos of Delos.

324. A carefully constructed 'symmetrical' line (pattern A-B καὶ B-A) to conclude the myth-and-ritual episode in a striking manner. For the word-order cf. *Il.* 2, 483 ἐκπρεπέ' ἐν πολλοισῖ καὶ ἔξοχον ἡρώεσσιν, *Od.* 3, 350 οὔτ' αὐτῷ μαλακῶς οὔτε ξείνοισιν ἐνεύδειν, S. *Ai.* 187 καὶ Ζεὺς κακὰν καὶ Φοῖβος 'Αργείων φάτιν.

παίγνια: belongs to the Attic idiom (Plat., Com.). The meaning here must be 'entertainment, comic performance', as in Pl. *Lg.* 816e. In Call. *Ia.* 12 fr. 202, 28 and 33 παίχνιον is found, which is considered to be the Ionic form (see Schmitt, *Nom.* 36 n. 34). That being so, we would welcome παίχνια here too, since in this hymn Call. shows some preference for Ionic forms, cf. above, l. 90 τριποδήιος and 315 τοπήια, l. 322 ῥήσσω, etc.

κουρίζοντι ... 'Απόλλωνι: after the digression on Delian cult this brings us back neatly to the central theme of *Delos*, viz. Apollo's birth, and at the same time prepares us for the final greeting to the god in l. 326. The phrase echoes l. 2 'Απόλλωνος κουροτρόφον; note the verbal similarity of Hes. *Th.* 347* κουρίζουσι σὺν 'Απόλλωνι.

Κουρίζω is found first in *Od.* 22, 185, referring to early manhood (σάκος ... ὃ κουρίζων φορέεσκε); but κοῦρος has a wider range of application, even serving to denote an unborn child. See Herter, *KuH.*, 63 n. 1 (= Skiadas 360f. n. 21); McLennan, *Zeus*, 89f.; above, 212 n.

γελαστύν: found only here. Call. shows a certain preference for substantive ending in -υς (see Schmitt, *Nom.* 72, 79; Bornmann, *Dian.* 93; Pfeiffer on fr. 10), a preference he shares with Homer and Antimachus as a matter of fact: see B. Wyss, *Antimachi Colophonii reliquiae* (Berlin ²1974), XXXII and n. 1.

325-6. *Final greeting to Asteria/Delos, Apollo and Leto.*

The final greeting with χαῖρε is a well-known traditional element in hymns, cf. *h.Ap.* 545 καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς υἱέ, etc.: see Meyer,

Hymn. Stilel., 24; Keyssner, *Gottesvorst.*, 132; W. Kranz, *RhM* 104 (1961), 10ff.; Bundy, *art. cit.* (1 n.), 49ff. In the following, however, the equally traditional αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σεῖο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς is not so much as even hinted at, but replaced by a fare-thee-well to other deities in the optative, a feature not found elsewhere in a hymn.

325. ἱστίη ὦ νήσων εὐέστιε: 'oh islands' heart and hearth', the reference of course being to Delos as the centre of the Cyclades; cf. above, 300f. According to Kuiper (190), Call. is here once more 'Delicising' the tradition, since ἑστία properly speaking is a *Delphic* term. But the instances in *LSJ s.v.* clearly indicate that the use of ἑστία was not at all confined to Delphi exclusively, and that in the instances where it does refer to the Delphic shrine it is always accompanied by some specifying epithet, cf. E. *Andr.* 1067 Πυθικὴν πρὸς ἑστίαν, Ion 461 f. μεσόμφαλος ἑστία.

ἱστίη: scanned ῐστῑη four times in the Odyssey (14, 159, etc.), but ῑστῑη in *h.Ven.* 22, Hes. *Op.* 734 and here. See West, *Theog.*, 293f. For the word-play hinting at etymology cf. *H.* 3, 204 Οὖπι ... εὐῶπι; for comparable instances in Homer and Hesiod see West, *o.c.*, 77 (more in general: E. Risch, in: *Eumusia*, Festschrift Howald, Zürich 1947, 72ff.).

ὦ: postponed as in l. 118, see above. For a comparable instance in an epicletic formula cf. *h.Ap.* 14 χαῖρε μάκαιρ' ὦ Λητοῖ. See Giangrande, *art. cit.* (1 n.), 57.

εὐέστιε: Homer has ἀνέστιος (*Il.* 9, 63) and ἐφέστιος (2, 125, *al.*), Empedocles ὁμέστιος, etc., see Chantr., *Dict. Ét.* 379 A. The compound here is possibly of Callimachean coinage (see Schmitt, *Nom.* 38 n. 57); at all events, it is exquisitely used, since it is associated with ἱστία / ἑστία as well as with εὐεστώ (see Chantr., *o.c.*, 322 B, cf. Cahen, *Comm.*, 215), and so could mean (and possibly does mean) 'being a fine hearth' and 'prosperous' at the same time.

χαῖρε μὲν αὐτή: cf. *Od.* 5, 205* χαῖρε καὶ ἔμπης, χαῖρε elsewhere being found only in the first half of the line. For the greeting of other deities in a hymn to a certain god or goddess cf. *h.Cer.* 493, *h.Hom.* 14, 6; 27, 21.

326. χαίροι: the only further instance of the optative in a Salutation in a hymn is *h.Ap.* 165 ἀλλ' ἄγεθ' ἱλήκοι μὲν Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν.

ἐλοχεύσαο: the MSS have ἐλοχεύσατο, which, given the not uncommon Callimachean use of the middle for the active (cf. above, 232 n. and fr. 228, 68), could be translated as 'the girl that Leto bore'. A reference to Artemis, however, is completely amiss here, since that goddess' birth has had no part to play in *Delos* at all. Hence several corrections have been proposed: ἣ 'νελοχεύσατο (Schneider, supported by Vahlen, *o.c.* (1 n.), 430, quite unlikely because of the aphaeresis (ἐν- being rather meaningless, too), ἣ σφ' ἐλοχεύσατο (Koechly, Meineke), the corruption of which is hard to account for,

and ἣν ἐλοχεύσαο Λητώ (Wilamowitz, supported by Pfeiffer and Howald-Staiger): 'and Leto, whom you delivered'. Corruption of -σαο in -σατο indeed occurs in the Hymns, but we need not suspect every ending in -σατο for that reason, of course: cf. l. 21 καὶ ἣν ἐπενήξατο Κύπρις, and further lines 139, 149, 205 and 246; and also A.R. 1, 762 (ὅν ...) ἄψ ἐλοχεύσατο Γαῖα. Wilamowitz' proposition further has the disadvantage of presenting a curiously rapid change of subject in the phrase, viz. from Asteria (ἱστίη ... χαῖρε μὲν αὐτή) to Apollo (χαίροι δ' Ἀπόλλων) and back again to Asteria (subject of ἐλοχεύσαο); but the most serious objection to ἐλοχεύσαο in my view is the fact that nowhere in *Delos* is Asteria pictured as having played any *active* role in Leto's delivery. Hence it is far more attractive to follow W. J. Verdenius (referred to by Mc Kay, *Erys.*, 169) and leave the text as it stands, translating 'and may Apollo fare well and Leto, whom he delivered': for as we saw in l. 255, it was Apollo himself who, without help from Eileithyia or anybody else 'jumped forward' from Leto's womb. In this interpretation the middle is functional, too, since it marks Apollo's evident concern regarding his own birth.

For the traditional repetition of the genealogy at the end of the hymn cf. *h.Ap.* 177 ὃν ἠΰκομος τέκε Λητώ: see Jacoby, *SbBerl.* (1933), 718; Führer, *Formproblemunters.*, 58 n. 78. By making Apollo himself the subject, however, Call. again shows his originality in his use of traditional epic and hymnal material.

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ADDENDUM

In her recent paper "Three Textual Problems in Callimachus' Hymn to Delos" (*Corolla Londiniensis* II, Amsterdam 1983, 193ff.) Heather White discusses the following crucial passages of *Delos*:

(i) In l. 11, she does not think οἷά θ' to be corrupt, and explains it as 'so' i.e. 'very', citing in support Mosch. *Eur.* 104 and other instances. In my opinion, however, in none of these does οἷά θ' really mean 'very'. See further above, p. 61 f.

(ii) In l. 41, Miss White writes

πολλάκις ἐκ Τροιζῆνος, ἀπὸ Ξάνθοιο πολίχνης,

quoting Plat. *Tht.* 142A for the combination of ἐκ with ἀπό. This seems perfectly possible, but I seriously doubt her statement that Xanthus could have been an obscure king of Troezen, known to the learned Alexandrians but not to us: see above, p. 87.

(iii) In l. 249, she reads κύκνοι δὲ θεοῦ μέλποντος ἀοιδοί with MS Q, to whose outstanding quality she draws attention. But though Apollo may be called a minstrel in *A.P.* 6, 155, 2 etc., it seems impossible to me that the god, who is still in Leto's womb, should be described here as actually *singing* on the occasion of his appearance into the world. See further above, p. 207.

This is the first comprehensive commentary on Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*, its immediate predecessor being Cahen's concise work of 1930. The Introduction proposes a new interpretation of the Hymn's purpose and background, and further discusses the date of its composition, its vocabulary, several of its stylistic aspects, and its metre and prosody.

The Commentary, which follows Pfeiffer's text (Oxford 1953), presents parallels from relevant Greek poetry (mainly epic and tragic) to illustrate tradition and originality in Callimachus' style, offers some new interpretations and examines old ones, and indicates possible allusions to contemporary events in Egypt and elsewhere. Textual problems are treated where necessary and emendations are also occasionally proposed.

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